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HANDBOOKS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

General Editor :

JOHN HENRY BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN

THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM

HANDBOOKS OF  
ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

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# THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM

BY

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36 ESSEX STREET W.C.  
LONDON

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*First Published in 1910*

## PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

THE initial impulse to undertake the task of editing this series was given me, so far back as 1897, by the late Dr Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. He was good enough to suggest the names of some of the writers whom I should invite to collaborate; and he drew up what he called "a rough scheme," of which the following is a modification.

- I. The Foundations of the English Church (to A.D. 800).
- II. The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Norman Conquest (A.D. 800-1135).
- III. The Mediæval Church and the Papacy (A.D. 1135-1485).
- IV. The Reformation Period (A.D. 1485-1603).
- V. The Struggle with Puritanism (A.D. 1603-1702).
- VI. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.

The names of the six scholars, who have accepted the invitation to contribute to this series, are a sufficient guarantee that the work is conceived in no narrow spirit of partisanship, but with the earnest desire to do justice to all parties, whether religious or political. The Editor has thought it right to allow to each writer the utmost freedom of treatment consistent with

the general plan of the series. If here and there this has resulted in some slight divergence of view between one volume and another, he believes that it will prove rather advantageous than detrimental to the utility of the work; for much would be lost, and very little gained, by preventing a writer from giving free expression to his own view of the facts, and of the inferences to be drawn from them.

J. H. BURN

THE PARSONAGE  
BALLATER

## INTRODUCTION

THE title of this volume—‘The Struggle with Puritanism’—may at first sight appear to express only half the truth. For, as the following pages will prove, the struggle with the adherents of the Pope was at times equally severe, and during the reign of James II. was the absorbing topic in most men’s minds and conversation. Yet the words describe the period sufficiently well when the two great principles which had been struggling for the mastery since the early days of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, were now the principles upon which two great parties within the Church and State were to fight not merely for toleration but for existence. One party appealed to the Catholic Fathers, wished to retain the Catholic Hierarchy and the Liturgy of the Church. They were sons of the Reformers; but they stood for a Reformed Catholicism. The other party would in time bring the English Church into conformity with the Reformed religion of Geneva. Their great authority and master was John Calvin.

I. Two permanent results of the discussions, conferences, controversies, and indeed civil war which arose out of these fundamental differences, are the English Bible and the English Prayer Book. The history of the times which produced them, and the way in which they were accepted, are of the greatest value and importance to us who have in our own lives seen the

publication of a Revised Bible, and when we are considering proposals for, or reading of discussions about a Revised Prayer Book.

2. The great men of the period are possibly not such attractive characters as the saints of the early days —Aidan or Wilfrid, Oswald or Alfred; but we are reading of men who lived in days which are nearer our own, and in difficulties which we can more easily appreciate. They were not men who were likely to be popular, but they did solid work both for their own day and for future times. ‘*Anglicanus clerus stupor mundi.*’

Of the great ecclesiastics, no man did so much or so enduring a work as Laud, and no man has been judged more differently. How the estimation of his life and character has changed can best be understood by comparing the Laud of Macaulay with the Laud of Professor S. R. Gardiner. The latter writer, who could have no sympathy with the Archbishop’s objects, gives his judgment that Laud and not his enemies was on the side of liberty. Nor is it less interesting to notice how Bishop Creighton’s views upon Laud underwent a considerable change. He wrote in 1880, “Laud is an interesting character, excellent but *narrow*, with every private virtue and deep religious feeling, but unsympathetic towards others and believing too much in outward organization, a sort of ecclesiastical policeman at best.”<sup>1</sup> In 1898 he says, “Laud was a man of great ideas, and a man who was unflinching and unwavering in his pursuit of truth . . . his ideal of the Church of England was probably higher and truer than that of any other man, certainly of his time. . . . Personally he was *large-minded* and *tolerant*, but he was prepared

<sup>1</sup> ‘Life of Creighton,’ vol. i. p. 216.

to use intolerance as a means of establishing a system of tolerance. He upheld great principles of spiritual freedom, which were as yet imperfectly understood; but he upheld them by methods which threatened the very foundations of English liberty.”<sup>1</sup> Mr Gladstone’s judgment on the Archbishop has been given in full in a Note at the end of this volume, as it is too long for quotation, and too valuable for abbreviation.<sup>2</sup>

3. Laud’s work—not of necessity in details, but in principles—was enshrined in the Settlement of 1661, which has been described by Mr Gladstone, among other writers, as the ‘Reformation Settlement of the Church of England.’ The attempts to modify this Settlement after the Revolution of 1688—especially the attempts at liturgical revision—are of value and interest, although they came to nothing.

4. The discipline of the Church must have touched the life of the people much more than it does to-day. But after the Restoration it gradually became a discipline which was only accepted voluntarily. We may take as an example of this one point which must always touch the Church very closely. The attempts to regulate the keeping of Sunday were given up after the Civil War. There was, however, a considerable difference of opinion among learned divines upon the Sunday question. Beveridge and Hickes are examples of men who taught that Sunday sports and recreations were unlawful, while Cosin and Bramhall represent those who took the opposite view. The spiritual adviser of Princess Mary of Orange taught her that it was better not to play cards on Sunday, but he could not say that it was sinful. All were at any rate

<sup>1</sup> ‘Life of Creighton,’ vol. ii. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> See Note I. on p. 223.

agreed that such recreations were unlawful during the hours of divine service.

5. The last portion of our period is of lasting importance, because it has left a permanent mark upon the methods of the Church. The 'Voluntary Societies,' which were largely the work of Baxter, were at first not very acceptable to Churchmen. But the system came to stay in spite of coldness and opposition. We still criticize the method, but we are thankful for the foundation of the Societies (now termed Venerable), and look back upon Dr Bray as one of the wisest and most far-seeing of Churchmen of this or any other time. Isolation, competition, proselytism—the fruits of separation—are not the ideal condition of churches. The best Churchmen of this period were desiring unity in spite of many controversies, as we may learn from such Devotions as those of Andrewes. Schemes and plans for reunion and comprehension failed in those days as they afterwards failed. At present, when the English Church has but lately officially proclaimed her desire for reunion, we may study the reasons why men failed in the past, and patiently hope for the realization of the great object which was one of the fervent desires of the Founder of the Church.

Many of the authorities which have been used are quoted in the text. I should, however, like to draw the attention of anyone who wishes to study in detail the religious history of England during the Civil War to Dr W. A. Shaw's 'History of the English Church, 1640-1660.' I also thank the Rev. J. R. Pyle, Rector of Preston-on-the-Weald Moors and Diocesan Inspector, Salop-in-Lichfield, for reading through the MS. and for many valuable suggestions.

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
<hr/>	
CHAPTER I	
THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I TO THE DEATH OF BANCROFT . . . . .	I
CHAPTER II	
JAMES I—THE PRIMACY OF ABBOT . . . . .	20
CHAPTER III	
THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES I TO THE OPENING OF THE SHORT PARLIAMENT . . . . .	45
CHAPTER IV	
FROM THE SHORT PARLIAMENT TO THE CIVIL WAR . . . . .	71
CHAPTER V	
THE CIVIL WAR TO THE RESTORATION . . . . .	83
CHAPTER VI	
THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT . . . . .	113

## CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II . . . . .	129
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES II . . . . .	154
---	-----

## CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III AND MARY II . . . . .	189
---	-----

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APPENDIX . . . . .	223
--------------------	-----

INDEX . . . . .	229
-----------------	-----

# **THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM**



# THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM

## CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES I.  
TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT

WHEN James I. ascended the throne of England he found the majority of his subjects members of the Church of England. Those who were not of her communion, Romanists or Puritans, were in a minority. And yet within a half a century the Church of the majority was to be overthrown ; her bishops and clergy were to be expelled from their sees and benefices ; her most faithful children would be in exile in a foreign land, or were being punished for worshipping according to her rites in England. The period which lies before us—from the accession of the first of the Stewarts to the death of William of Orange—will tell the story of this revolution. We shall also see how at the Restoration of the Church and Monarchy the ‘Reformation Settlement’ was completed. Throughout the period the ‘Puritan’ element of the Church tried to enforce upon her the system of Calvin and thus cause her to break with the Church of Augustine, Lanfranc and Warham.

It would have seemed improbable that such would have been the course of her history to those who guided her destinies during the last days of Elizabeth or the days of her successor. And yet the causes of this attempted Revolution were already at work. The Church of England under Parker and Queen Elizabeth was the Church of Pole and Queen Mary. But under the former she had again been obliged to break with Rome. The attempt at Uniformity had failed. She presented to the world the spectacle of a house divided against itself. Within her fold were men who did not really believe in her principles. Some of those were her chief pastors. She had appealed to Antiquity. She professed to believe and to worship as the Fathers and Doctors of the Primitive Church worshipped and believed. By her Canon of 1571 she had warned all preachers "to be careful that they never teach aught in a sermon to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and which the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine." Her Articles of Religion appealed to Jerome and Augustine. They did not quote Luther or Calvin. But some of those who held high posts in the Church spoke the language of the latter and not that of the Ancient Church.

The worship of the Church was often an imitation of what many of the clergy had seen in the assemblies of Reformed Congregations in Frankfort or Zurich. Hence in many parishes the people who had worshipped in their churches through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary were unable to feel much enthusiasm for a system which had apparently changed

very much. Among such the zeal and devotion of those who came from abroad to restore the authority of Rome was not without effect. They had a definite object, and were willing to suffer death (if necessary) to carry it out. So too had many who came from the Continent with the definite object of bringing the English Church and people into conformity with the system and doctrine of Calvin. Both Romanist and Puritan had an advantage over the defenders of the English Church. It seemed as if she relied mainly on the civil power and Royal authority.

When the Queen died and James became King there was consequently a number of clergy and laity who had reluctantly conformed to the Church of England. They now hoped that the new King, who had himself been educated in the doctrines of Calvin, would use his influence to give them relief. They saw a possibility of returning to the state of things which had prevailed in the early days of Queen Elizabeth.

The Romanists also hoped for something from the son of Mary Stewart. "At Rome," we are told, "his accession was celebrated with solemn prayers and processions. And before this Clement VIII. had let him know that he was the subject of his prayers as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he desired for him all kinds of prosperity, temporal and spiritual, and trusted yet to see him a Catholic"<sup>1</sup>

Under such circumstances the Bishops of the English Church might naturally be anxious to know what would be the religious policy of their new sovereign. Any fears which they might have had were speedily laid to rest. The Archbishop of Canter-

<sup>1</sup> Ranke's 'Hist. of Popes,' vol. ii. p. 222.

bury—Whitgift—sent the Dean to congratulate James on his accession. In his reply the King promised to uphold the government of the Church as in the days of his predecessor. For the present all innovations were forbidden, both in the discipline and teaching of the Church.

But Mary and Elizabeth had issued proclamations much in the same way at their accession. And yet changes had followed in the Church's worship. The Puritans hoped that such again would be the case. They therefore presented to the King what was called the 'Millenary Petition.' It was called by this name because it was supposed to represent the views of a thousand of the English clergy. Probably there were no signatures to it. But seven hundred and fifty wrote letters of general agreement with the propositions which it contained. Those who presented it believed (probably with truth) that they could find two hundred and fifty others. It is of no great consequence whether this was so or not. But the substance of the petition and results which followed from it are of the greatest importance.

The ministers and their friends who presented this petition stated in direct terms what had for some time been their object. They wished to see certain changes in the worship of the Church. They wished to see the customary worship of the Puritan clergy legalized and enforced upon the Church of England. During the later years of the Queen this worship had been rendered almost impossible by the rigid enforcement of the Act of Uniformity. But in the earlier years of the reign it was possible to find a state of things far different from this. We must also remember that service books had been printed which were acceptable

to the larger portion of the Puritans.<sup>1</sup> They also wished to reform obvious abuses and defects in the administration of the Church's affairs and discipline. In this they aimed at doing what was equally the object of the best of the bishops and laymen, who were in other matters their opponents.

In the worship of the Church the usual objections of the Puritan party were put forward. The sign of the Cross was not to be made in the service for Holy Baptism. The ring was not to be used in the marriage service.

Confirmation was not necessary. Holy Baptism was never to be administered by women. In the service for Holy Communion they wished for more discipline. An examination of the communicants should precede the service. They wished to make up for the loss of discipline which had no doubt taken place when the rule about private confession was relaxed. The use of the cap and surplice was not to be obligatory. The words 'priest' and 'absolution' were to disappear. The reverence at the Name of Jesus was not to be enjoined. Only the Canonical books of the Old Testament were to be read. On the other hand, the Lord's Day was to be more strictly observed. There was to be more uniformity in teaching the Doctrines of the Christian Faith. They also suggested that Church Music should be so modified that the common people should be edified.

<sup>1</sup> Such books had been printed in 1567 and 1571, after the model of Geneva. In 1584 a book of this kind was presented to Parliament. Attempts were made to revise the Prayer Book in this direction, e.g. 'Minister' to be substituted for 'Priest'—private use of Sacraments, Confirmation, and Churhing of Women omitted, etc. A series of such books appeared between 1578 and 1640. See Frere's Edition of 'Proctor on the P.B.,' pp. 131 sqq.

With regard to the discipline and better management of Church affairs, they had many suggestions to make.

All ministers should be able to preach. Those who were unable to preach should be pensioned. All ministers should be compelled to reside in their parishes.

The poorer clergy should receive better payment.

They urged that bishops should only hold one office. We remember that it was possible to find a bishop holding a deanery at the same time—as in the case of Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who was Dean of Westminster at the end of this reign. So also the clergy should not hold more than one benefice. Much tithe was in the hands of laymen. Some was in the hands of Bishops and the Universities. They suggested that a portion, at any rate, of this should go to the support of men who held small livings.

They desired that the Calvinistic discipline should be adopted by the Church. They objected, however, to the Church's discipline—as it was carried out. For example, excommunication was often issued by a layman, if the Bishop's Chancellor happened not to be in Orders, as was frequently the case. They objected to the discipline of the Church in small and trivial matters. They desired a reduction of extortionate fees, and that suits in Ecclesiastical Courts should not be unduly prolonged. On such and similar points they doubtless had a majority of the people on their side.

It is well for us to study at the beginning of this period what the Puritan party really wanted. Much of what they asked for was obviously reasonable.

James himself allowed as much in the case of the inadequate payment of preachers. He did much in Scotland to benefit the condition of the poorer clergy. He made an attempt in England. He asked the Universities to fall in with the suggestion in the petition, and promised himself to devote tithes which were in the possession of the Crown. Unfortunately for the cause of better preaching, he added the words that he would do this when his financial position enabled him to do so.

The replies of the Universities were not hopeful. Cambridge threatened to suspend from their degrees all who opposed the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church. Oxford saw in the petition an attack on the Royal prerogative. Neither wished to take an active part in reform—or to give up tithes for the benefit of the poorer clergy.

Whitgift, the Primate, had, however, already taken a step in the same direction before the death of Elizabeth. He desired to see a more capable and earnest clergy. He wished to see the Church's property devoted to the Church's service and to check such abuses as plurality of livings. He had bidden the archdeacons report to him on the number of communicants—of Recusants—Pluralists—and of those who held tithe (for which they did no service) among the clergy and laity. He had a return made of curates' stipends, values of parsonages, and names of patrons.

Nor were some of the leading laity averse to reform. Francis Bacon was averse to all measures which would drive out either Papist or Puritan. "I am partly persuaded that the Papists should not need so much the severity of the penal laws, if the sword of the Spirit were better edged. It is good to return to the ancient

bonds of unity in the Church of God, which was one Faith, one Baptism ; and not one hierarchy, one discipline, and that we observe the league of Christians as it is penned by our Saviour Christ, which is in substance of doctrine this : ‘ He that is not with us is against us ’ ; but the things indifferent and but of circumstance this : ‘ He that is not against us is with us.’ ” Such counsels might have been of more influence if the parties who were about to meet in conference could have tolerated one another. But if we look at the proposals carefully we find that with few exceptions—*e.g.* the cap and surplice—all the suggestions of the petition were to be authorized, and all would then be obliged to conform to them.

We pass on then to consider the Conference, which was held at Hampton Court in the month of January 1604, as the result of this petition. The Royal proclamation which promised that a Conference should be held admitted that in some matters reform was needed. But the King gave little hope to the petitioners that any radical reform would take place, and stated that the Church of England was in agreement both with Holy Scripture and the Primitive Church.

James, however, was not clear on all points of detail. He was a theologian and a learned man. He was quite capable of understanding the doctrinal points at issue between the bishops of the Church and the Puritans who differed from them. But as he had been brought up in Scotland he needed to be instructed in certain details. The first day of the Conference was spent in a discussion between the King and the Church divines. He discussed the word ‘ Absolution ’ and the subject of Confirmation. On the subject of

Private Baptism he was not so easily convinced. Three hours were spent upon it, with the result that the King and bishops agreed that it should always be administered by a minister of the Church, and only in cases of necessity in private houses. Bishops were to have sole jurisdiction in ordination, suspension, and degradation. But the Bishops' Courts ought to be reformed, and no one should be lightly excommunicated.

Having thus cleared the way, the Puritans were admitted on the following Monday. They were four in number—Doctors Reynolds and Sparks, with Masters Chalderton and Knewstubbs. They were the King's selection. James himself presided, and up to a certain point used his position with fairness and moderation.

Doctrines were at first discussed. Bancroft, the Bishop of London, was the leader of the Church divines, as Whitgift, the Primate, was in bad health. When Confirmation was being discussed, he objected that schismatics were not to be heard when speaking against bishops. The King checked this unseemly interruption. Again, when the Puritan demand for an improved translation of the Bible was under discussion, he refused to support those bishops who objected to it. Nor, on the other hand, would he allow the Church to be narrowed by the 'Lambeth Articles,' which Reynolds wished to impose upon the Church. It was when the subject of preaching was before the Conference, and when Reynolds had defended the liberty of prophesying, that James made his historic speech. The doctor was urging that points of difference might be settled by a bishop and his presbyters in a Synod. The words as they stand might be quite consistent with the order of the Catholic Church. But James

had unpleasant reminiscences of the word ‘presbyter.’ The presbyters of the Kirk in Scotland had been a thorn in his side. “If you aim at a Scotch presbytery it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Dick will meet and censure me and my council.”

After this they had little chance of a favourable hearing. No concessions could be made on the subject of surplice, ring, or sign of the Cross. They could not be proved to be against Holy Scripture. They could certainly be proved to be agreeable to the Church of the Fathers, and were used long before the days of ‘Popery.’ Such was sound argument. But the King’s untimely jests on the subject were unworthy of the occasion, and would irritate earnest men. “If the objector to the Ring,” he observed, “had a good wife, he would not find fault with the way in which he came by her.” The Churching Service “was a good way to bring women to church.”

On the third and last day of the Conference the Archbishop and his friends first of all presented a report of their proceedings with James on the first day. The King’s influence was shown by the alteration of the Rubric about Private Baptism. Henceforth only a ‘lawful’ minister was to baptize. The Rubric about the instruction of children before their Confirmation was also added at this time. The Puritan divines were called in to hear the result of the deliberations. The changes in the Prayer Book were few and unimportant. They did not touch the points which the petitioners had demanded. But the Conference will ever be memorable in the history of the English Church. The demand for an improved translation of the Bible was conceded. The King himself highly

approved of it, and, as will appear further on, exerted himself to see that it was carried out. The questions and answers about the Sacraments were added to the Church Catechism, as the petition had contained a wish that some such addition should be made. The Puritan divines were acquainted with these concessions, and were obviously not satisfied. The King's last words as he left the room were not likely to soothe their disappointed feelings. "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land."

Soon after the Conference fresh petitions came in. The Book of Common Prayer was charged with fifty gross corruptions. It was superstitious. It was idolatrous. These corruptions must be entirely abolished, or the petitioners could not conform. It was plain that an agreement was impossible. The two parties disagreed, not merely about some trivial matters of ritual, but about matters of principle.

Such was the attempt of the Puritan party to bring the English Church into line with the bodies of Christians who professed to follow the system of Calvin. We must remember that they did not merely wish to be tolerated. The real struggle which had been going on with more or less severity during the reign of Elizabeth was brought to an issue thus early in the reign of her successor. It was not really about the Ring or sign of the Cross. The point at issue was —Was the English Church to be like the 'Reformed' churches of Germany, Switzerland, and France? Was she to adopt the discipline of Geneva? Or was she to continue to be the same body as that which had existed from the first days of the Church in this island?

It is true that the bishops of the Church in the days

of Elizabeth, and also in the days of the Stewarts, sometimes seemed to answer the question in hesitating tones. They did not give the same clear and logical answer as the disciples of Calvin or the emissaries of the Pope. The latter gave a clear answer. Submit to the Holy See, and if you are in communion with it you are in communion with the true Catholic Church of Christ. Calvin had fixed upon a passage of the Bible which gave men an infallible rule for the government of the Church. The words of the Apostle—"And He gave some, apostles ; and some, prophets ; and some, evangelists ; and some, pastors and teachers ; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ"—were the Divine rule. The pure Church adopted this rule. God's word was infallible. There was nothing more to be said or desired. Adopt this system and you are plainly in communion with the true Catholic Church of Christ. Those who held that this was the way of safety were divided into two classes. There were those who were logical, and who said—The English Church, with its bishops and priests, is an anti-Christian institution. Destroy it and put the 'pure and true Church' in its place. There were those who would wait. As in the case of many of the petitioners, and those who represented them at Hampton Court, they would gradually change the outward order of the Church in worship and discipline. Bishops and the Catholic hierarchy would for a time be tolerated. But in the end they would disappear. It would be merely a question of time.

The King was probably shrewd enough to understand the real question at issue. Bancroft—who succeeded Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury

shortly after the Conference—at any rate clearly understood what was at stake.

He saw, too, that the Church must act on principle and have a real discipline, if she were to hold her own against her enemies.

The new Primate had been selected as a man who would rigorously enforce the Church's rule and order. He had just presided at the Convocation which reduced the attempts at Church legislation of the previous reign to some order. The Reformers had attempted to revise the Church's Canon Law in Edward VI.'s reign, and Convocation in the days of Elizabeth had put forward various sets of Canons. These, however, for the most part lacked the Royal authority. By the Statute of Henry VIII. it was necessary for Convocation to obtain the King's License before they proceeded to make fresh Canons. Bancroft therefore obtained this leave, and the Canons of 1604 were the result. Some were old; some were new Canons. But they were reduced to order, and were such as could deal practically with the state of things in his time. They are of much importance, as they give us the Rules of the Church which the bishops attempted to enforce during the whole of our period. The Bishops based the questions of their visitations upon them, and were able thus to enforce a minimum of decency in the order and worship of the Church.

The reign of Elizabeth had witnessed the settlement of the worship of the Church as far as the Common Prayer Book was concerned, and also of certain points of doctrine in the XXXIX. Articles. The reign of James I. saw the attempt to settle the order and discipline of the Church by the Canons of 1604.

Considerations of space preclude our giving a long and detailed account of the Canons which were thus issued by Convocation. But we can have little idea of the coming struggles in the next reign unless we study them. In the very beginning they again stated the position of the Church of England to be the true and Catholic Church of this realm. Anyone who denied this was "to be *ipso facto* excommunicated." And we do well to remember that to be excommunicated meant more than exclusion from spiritual privileges. An excommunicated person could not recover his debts. He was liable to imprisonment until he professed to be penitent and had been reconciled to the Church. The ancient jurisdiction of the Crown was stated with a glance at the 'usurped and foreign power' of Rome. Objectors to the Prayer Book were also to be excommunicated. So also were those who said that the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, etc., is anti-Christian and repugnant to the word of God.

Those Canons dealing with the services of the Church would at any rate enforce decency and order. Holy days and their eves were to be observed. The Litany was to be read on Wednesdays and Fridays, and those who lived within a mile of the church were bidden to come, or at least send one of their household. Reverence in church was enjoined upon the worshippers. No one was to wear any covering upon his head except he have some infirmity—people should kneel at prayer—stand at the Creed—bow at the Name of Jesus "as it hath been accustomed"—none should walk about or talk during service—nor leave the church without good cause.

The surplice in churches and cope in cathedral and collegiate churches should be at any rate worn. The Advertisements of Elizabeth had been a maximum in practice. The restorers of order in the Stewart period do not seem to have aimed at anything higher in the worship of the parish church.

Communion was to be received by members of colleges and cathedral bodies at least four times a year. Notorious offenders, schismatics, and unknown persons were not to be admitted—a sign that the discipline of the Church was to be a reality. A lengthy Canon about the sign of the Cross sets forth the reasons for its use. It is valuable as showing the relation between the English Church and the Church on the Continent of Europe.

"Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like churches, in all things which they held and practised, that as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men."

Other canons deal with points which had been raised at the Conference about non-residence, pluralities, and the like, and endeavoured to remedy them. The readers of George Herbert's 'Priest to the Temple' will recognize the modest requirements of those canons about the ornaments and books of the Church—the great Bible and Prayer Book, the font and decent communion table, with its carpet of silk or other decent stuff, the Ten Commandments set up on the east wall, the pulpit and alms-chest. The last canons of the series deal with ecclesiastical courts and their

officers, the registrars and their fees, and other matters of order and discipline which were likewise a reality during this time, as the churchwardens' accounts of the period bear witness.

Bancroft proceeded to use the new canons to some purpose. All clergy were to subscribe 'willingly' to the Royal supremacy, the Prayer Book, and Articles. The majority took the oath. Some three hundred refused, who left the country, and settled in Holland. This fresh attempt at uniformity seemed for the time to have quite succeeded in doing what the Primate wished to do. The result of his policy is summed up by two Churchmen. Lord Clarendon tells us that he had almost rescued the Church from the hands of the Calvinist party. If he had lived he would have extinguished the fire which had been kindled at Geneva. Heylin—Archbishop Laud's chaplain and biographer—relates "how churches were beautified and repaired; services were more reverently performed by the clergy, and more religiously attended by the people."

This was, no doubt, quite true, but there were signs that the King and the bishops would be opposed in other quarters. There was always a jealousy felt by the judges of the temporal courts, which made them resent any great exercise of power by the bishops, the judges of the ecclesiastical courts of the realm. They had on their side a majority of those who were the King's opponents in the Commons. These men naturally sided with the Puritans. They felt that they had not been fairly treated. They did not wish to see them deprived of their benefices for a matter of conscience. The King and Bancroft did not sufficiently take into consideration the strength of this

opposition, which came from men who by no means sympathized with the Puritans in all their objections to the Church's worship.

Since the days of Henry II. the Law Courts had issued what were called writs of prohibition whenever the Spiritual Courts were supposed to have gone beyond their proper province. These prohibitions had been issued in increasing numbers towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1605 the Primate presented a petition in the Star Chamber from the clergy, who complained of this as an interference with a jurisdiction which was as much derived from the Crown as that of the Temporal Judges. The King naturally looked upon these 'prohibitions' as also an interference with his own supremacy. Thus the King and bishops were thrown together. The Archbishop was willing to place all prohibitions in the hands of the Court of Chancery. The judges, however, would only submit to an Act of Parliament. Hence the matter became one of great importance. It was just another point of difference between the Crown and the Commons. James saw it in its true light. "This I prophesy, that whosoever the ecclesiastical dignity together with the Government thereof shall be turned into contempt and begin evanish in this kingdom, the kings thereof shall not long after prosper in their government and the monarchy shall fall to ruin, which I pray God I may never live to see."

At last the judges were summoned to the royal presence, when the matter was discussed. Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, called the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction 'foreign,' which made the King very angry. Coke was frightened, fell upon his knees, and begged for mercy. James ended the audience by bidding them

live together like brethren. But the matter was not to be so easily ended.

The Commons took up the matter and also many grievances which were believed to have been shelved by the Hampton Court Conference. Pluralities and non-residence of the clergy were again brought up in the House. They also urged upon the King that the men who had been deprived for not taking the oath might be allowed to preach—provided that they promised not to attack the Church's Doctrine and Worship. James answered that he was unwilling that men should occupy the Church's pulpits who did not accept her authority. He hoped, however, that the matter of prohibitions would be settled to the satisfaction of both sides, and that no rights of the Temporal Judges should be infringed. His object was peace. But he and the Commons looked at the matter from a different point of view. He wished to do those things by virtue of his prerogative and without Parliament. He believed that the Church Courts received their jurisdiction from him, and that the external affairs of the Church should be regulated by the Crown, acting on the advice of her rulers—the bishops. The Commons wished to see the Ecclesiastical Courts brought under the limitations of an Act of Parliament. In other words, they wished to see the Ecclesiastical body dependent on themselves.

So the King and the bishops acted together. The Commons and the Puritans acted together. The Church often seemed in the eye of the people to be a mere handmaid of the Royal authority. The Puritans, as opponents of the bishops and King, were looked upon as sufferers for conscience sake. At the same time, they were looked upon as useful allies by the

political opponents of the Crown. It was one of the inevitable misfortunes of the Church during this period that this was so. In reality the King was only acting in the same way as his predecessors had done. He did not really wish to drive men who remained quiet from the Church's communion.

Bancroft was desirous for unity and uniformity. But he treated doubtful cases with gentleness and moderation. He won back many, who were uninstructed in the Church's ways, to the Church's fold. How far his efforts might have been successful it is impossible to say, as he died in the autumn of 1610, and his successor was a man of entirely different sentiments and character.

## CHAPTER II

### JAMES I.—THE PRIMACY OF ABBOT

ABBOT, who succeeded Bancroft, was a Puritan Conformist, and was little likely to continue his policy. A very different man seemed to be marked out for the Primacy. Most of the bishops were in favour of recommending Launcelot Andrewes to the King. Andrewes was the most learned of the bishops—in fact, one of the few who were known or esteemed outside England. He was no mere courtier though a favourite with James. He often preached before him, and the King took his advice in his theological discussions. But at the time when the appointment was to be made, the Earl of Dunbar was more influential than the bishops. Abbot, who had been the earl's chaplain, and who had been Master of University College, Oxford, and then Bishop of Lichfield, was now Bishop of London. He and his brother, the Master of Balliol, were the leaders of the Calvinist party within the Church.

For the next twenty years the fortunes of the Church of England were to a large extent in the hands of Abbot. It was during the difficult times when the opposition to the royal power and also to the authority of the Church was daily gaining strength, and when the Church needed a vigorous leader, that Abbot held

the Primacy. He was honest and fearless as a man. Yet he was without much influence. He seems to have desired to adopt that part of Cranmer's policy which would have placed the Church of England at the head of all bodies of Christians who were in opposition to Rome. Hence he succeeded in his advice to James to send representatives to the Calvinist Synod of Dort in Holland. He was, however, in opposition to the sentiments of most of the rising school of clergy. He was also in opposition to the King. He hated everything which he thought savoured of Rome. He detested Spain. He was not likely to find much favour with his royal master, who was always desirous to be on good terms with Spain, to be a peacemaker, and to ensure peace by the marriage of his son to the Spanish Infanta.

We must now turn to the relations of the King and the Church to the Romanists. Our interest is not so much in the history of that body at this period as in the effect which they had on the English Church. James himself was naturally inclined to be tolerant. Before he came to England he had declared his unwillingness to shed any man's blood for the sake of his religion. Hence the Romanists, who had suffered much under the penal laws in Elizabeth's days, hoped for better things. We must remind ourselves what this really meant. They were forbidden, of course, to worship God in public with their own rites. Every Roman priest was liable to be put to death. For his duty compelled him to perform the Latin Mass, and to do so was an equivalent to high treason. A layman who assisted at such a service was in the eye of the law a traitor. Moreover, the Ecclesiastical Courts could excommunicate 'recusants' — as the Roman

Catholics were then called ; and excommunication, as we have seen, meant not only spiritual loss, but imprisonment until the offender was penitent. There was also the vexatious system of fines. Wealthy Romanists were fined £20 a month. Those who were unable to pay so much were liable to forfeit their lands, which were leased by the Government. If they were men with no lands, the constable might come and seize their furniture. As the King then had declared that he would not make a 'merchandise of conscience,' the sufferers had every hope that these laws might be allowed to rest.

But they were soon disappointed. The King was willing that the Romanist should live in peace. But he had no intention that the Roman priests should make converts. He would therefore put the laws in force against their clergy, while the laity should be left alone as long as they were loyal to himself. How he could have supposed that the laity should be content to live without the ministrations of their religion, or how he could have supposed that the Roman priests should cease to persuade men whom they believed to be in error, it is difficult to understand. Possibly he may have hoped that there would be a reconciliation with the Roman See, which would settle all those difficulties. His words and general temperament, as well as his learning, which enabled him to see the real meaning of the questions at issue, seem to point in this direction. In his first speech in Parliament he spoke of Rome as the Mother of all Churches.

He was willing to allow that the Pope should be the chief Bishop of Christendom. As he was fond of discussing theology his views on such subjects were not likely to remain a secret. He could say that he

preferred St Augustine to Luther or Calvin, and that if the Pope would take one step he would be willing to take three.

It was not surprising, then, that there were reports throughout Europe early in his reign that he was about to be reconciled to Rome. The works of Baronius, which were supposed to put the claims of the Roman See on a sound historical basis, were sent to him. The consequence of these things was just the opposite to what the Romanists hoped. James was mortified and angry. The penal laws were again enforced, while Romanists in England were in disappointment and despair. The result was that the more reckless spirits conspired to overthrow the Government.

It is our purpose only to trace the effects of the 'Gunpowder Plot' on the history of the Church of England. The terror and panic which it caused was immediate in its effects. For the first time the Sacrament of the Altar was made a test. Those who refused to partake of the holy sacrament in their parish church at least once a year were to be fined £60, or forfeit two-thirds of their lands.

The words of the service which were used on the anniversary of the 'Gunpowder Plot,' and the language of the Acts of Parliament at the time, reflect the feelings of fear and bitterness which have not yet died away. No Roman Catholic might be a barrister, an attorney, physician, an executor under a will, or a guardian of children. They were to suffer penalties if their children were not baptized in the parish church. Their books were to be destroyed. Justices of the peace were at liberty to search for arms in their houses. At the same time—and this is the matter of greatest importance for us as we study the

history of the Church—a new oath of allegiance was imposed.

While such laws were passed in Parliament, the effect on the Church was more directly shown by the proceedings of Convocation. As a defence against the attacks of Rome, the bishops and clergy attempted to fix the Government of the Church as well as State on a firm foundation. The Pope had claimed the right to depose sovereigns. In France the Society of Jesus had defended the theory that sovereigns might be deposed by the people. The Convocation of the English Church wished to find a sure foundation for Government, which rested neither upon the will of the Pope nor upon the will of the people. Hence they laid down the doctrine that the King ruled because he had a right to rule, and that right came from God. The Divine right of kings, then, was declared to be the true doctrine of government, not in order that the arbitrary power of the monarch should be increased, but as a defence against the claims of Rome and the doctrines of the Jesuits.

These Canons of Convocation, however, did not find favour with James. He was not entirely satisfied with the position which they took up. He therefore withheld his assent. The Commons were not likely to look upon them with much favour. The Divine right of kings as expressed in them might be of advantage in the contest between England and Rome. It was certain to be of advantage to the King in any contest between him and themselves. The matter was brought under their immediate notice by a book which was dedicated to the Archbishop. It was a Law Dictionary, the work of the Reader of Civil Law at Cambridge. Under the word ‘King’ appeared

the words, "He is above the law by his absolute power."

Under 'Parliament' he taught that the King made laws by the consent of his whole realm, "yet simply to bind the prince to or by these laws were repugnant to the nature and constitution of an absolute monarchy." The Commons were alarmed at such language. But James was too wise to commit himself to the defence of the theories of such writers. The book was suppressed by a Royal proclamation, and the King received the thanks of Parliament.

The new oath of allegiance was a cause of division among the English Romanists. It was also the cause of a great controversy which is interesting to us, as it shows us the position which the most learned of the English prelates took up at this time about the royal supremacy and the Catholic position of the English Church. After some preliminary skirmishes, in which James himself took part, Bishop Andrewes was bidden to reply to the Roman controversialist, Cardinal Bellarmine.

The English Bishop tells the Cardinal that the oath was merely a precaution. It invaded no spiritual rights of the Pope, assuming that he had the rights which he claimed. For the King does not pretend to have any spiritual primacy. As for the position of the English King over the Church, he says it is exactly the same as that which we find in Scripture and in the early ages of the Church. The Jewish kings regulated ecclesiastical affairs. They deposed unworthy priests, destroyed the groves and idols, and executed various reforms. But this did not touch matters of faith. Nor did they perform priestly duties. It was the King's right to order the external

affairs of the Church. It was such a right as the Council of Mainz had recognized in Charles the Great (who had received the Imperial Crown from the Roman pontiff) when he was styled ‘veræ religionis rector.’ Such was the position which Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had claimed to occupy. Then he turns to the Pope. He denies that it is universally acknowledged that the Roman Bishop could deprive kings or absolve their subjects from their allegiance. We do not accept spurious papal letters nor thirteenth-century canons as the laws of the Catholic Church. History gives a different answer. Theodosius had been excommunicated. But he was still obeyed by his subjects. In the last part of his work, in which he deals with the causes for the imposition of the new oath, Andrewes defends the English sovereign from the charge of apostasy. He states that the English sovereign is a ‘Catholic’ king.

Such was the method of Andrewes. He teaches much the same doctrine as we find in the pages of Hooker. It was plain that if such a position were once understood and widely adopted, the alliance with foreign Protestantism would cool. To emphasize the fact that the English king was a ‘Catholic’ monarch—as much as the Emperor or King of Spain—that the English Church was the Catholic Church in the days of James as in the days of the Plantagenets—was not acceptable to those who desired to see the English Church brought down to the level of the reformed bodies on the Continent. Thus those who were the strongest antagonists of Rome were often suspected of a desire to bring the English Church into subjection to the Roman See. The opposition to the Government in the Commons, as well as the Puritans

within and without the Church, desired to see the Church of England in communion with the Reformed bodies in Europe. When, therefore, the King's daughter Elizabeth married the Elector Palatine, they rejoiced. Later on, when the Elector Frederic was in great difficulties and the Protestant cause seemed to be hopeless in South Germany, the House of Commons lamented over the afflicted state of the true profession of the Christian religion professed by the Church of England and other foreign parts. They prayed that the Almighty might protect the true Church and avert the dangers which threatened her. What we notice is that the true Church in this sense is always any religious body which was opposed to and cut off from the See of Rome.

Such were the views of a large number of the clergy, and probably of the majority of the gentry who sat in Parliament. They found a consistent exponent in the Primate. We must not, however, suppose that Abbot and men of his views were more tolerant than other Churchmen of their day. In many points the Calvinist and Puritan were less tolerant than their opponents. It was in Abbot's primacy that the last executions for heresy took place, when the statute for the burning of heretics was again put in force.

'Protestant' heretics were burned in the reigns of Elizabeth and James<sup>1</sup> as well as in the days of Mary. The law itself was not repealed until the reign of Charles II.

Bartholomew Legate was the first of the two unfortunate men who thus suffered. He had come to the conclusion that the Arian view of the Person of the Saviour was the teaching of the Bible. James

<sup>1</sup> See note in Hallam's 'Const. Hist.,' chap. x. part i.

was at that time engaged in a controversy with the Dutchman Vorstius, who also denied the Deity of Jesus Christ. Legate in the course of his examination before the King confessed that he had not prayed to the Son for upwards of seven years. Both the King and the Archbishop wished to put him to death. Coke, the Lord Chief Justice, alone seems to have desired to save his life. In March 1612 Legate was burned at Smithfield. The second case was in the diocese of Lichfield. Edward Wightman of Burton-on-Trent had also interpreted the Scriptures according to his own light. His case was tried in the Consistory Court, and he was handed over to the secular arm, and executed at Lichfield. The deepest expressions of horror came from the lower orders of the people. Others seem to have still viewed such proceedings as we might view an execution for murder to-day. But the feeling which was shown by the masses of the people was sufficient to warn the King not to put the law again in force. Laws were passed in future years (as in the days of the Commonwealth) by which a man might suffer death for religious opinion. But these laws were never enforced. The executions in the days of Queen Mary had left a lasting impression on the minds of the people. But we are reminded that her successors were deterred from carrying out the law more by the fear of consequences than from any feeling of mercy for the heretic. History tells us that the Puritan Primate Abbot was as ready to burn a heretic as the Romanist Pole.

It was not, however, by such methods that the Church could suppress error or hold her own against the attacks of Romanist and Puritan. We have already seen that Andrewes was employed by the King

to answer the foremost Roman controversialist of his day. He was the chief of that school of thought who could meet Rome on her own ground. He was not blind to the defects of his own Church. He could pray "supply what is wanting," and ask God "to strengthen the things which remain and are ready to die." He quite saw that a divided Christendom is an anomaly. "So he saw," says Dean Church, "one more anomaly among anomalies, amid universal anomaly." He was not ready, with too many of his day, to condemn everything which Rome received, nor to receive everything which Rome condemned. He did not put all matters on the same level as Rome had done since the Council of Trent. For instance, he could not treat Transubstantiation or the Invocation of Saints as on the same level with the Articles of the Creed about the Incarnation or Resurrection. He would test these things by the Vincentian Canon. What has been believed always and everywhere and by all—this is truly Catholic. Hence Transubstantiation was not a Catholic doctrine, because it had not always been accepted. The Roman doctrine about the primacy of the Holy See was not accepted everywhere. A sentence from one of his sermons gives us his position. "One Canon reduced to writing by God Himself, two Testaments, three Creeds, four General Councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period—the three centuries before Constantine and two after—determine the boundary of our faith." We are not obliged to answer here the natural question—why stop here? We are simply stating the position which Andrewes and his school took up. It was to make an honest appeal to what they believed to be the teaching and practice of the Primitive

Church. The English Church throughout the sixteenth century revolution had ever appealed to antiquity. These men bade their fellow-Churchmen to act consistently with their words. Andrewes and leaders of this school believed that the English Church in their day could be proved in all essentials to be the historic Church of the country—the Catholic Church in England. Nor did he take a narrow view of those who differed from him. He was not willing to bind men down to anything narrower than the Creed. So he says of Puritans, "In their doctrine they are sufficiently orthodox." In his diocese he was willing to tolerate worship which was orderly and decent. Under the circumstances he could not hope for more. But in his own Episcopal chapel he set an example which he might hope that men would follow when they had grasped more thoroughly the fact that Catholic belief can be symbolized by the ancient form of worship.

In his own chapel, then, there were the two candlesticks upon the altar, the basin for the oblations, and another for the washing of hands at the Eucharist, a censer and boat for the incense, copes and altar-cloths. His order for the consecration of a Church was followed by Laud and other bishops of his day, and it has been the model for such services ever since the seventeenth century.

When the enemies of the Church obtained their temporary triumph, such points of ceremonial were made much of. They were supposed to be signs of Popery. They were, in fact, merely marks of obedience to the directions of the Prayer Book. Such types of worship were not, however, confined to the chapel of the Bishop of Winchester. When James visited St Paul's, he was

met by a solemn procession of priests in copes. A similar service was held in Westminster Abbey when the Latin tongue was used, as the King was pleased to point out to his friend Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. When Charles and Buckingham were to visit Spain, it was thought desirable that the worship of the English Church should be performed according to the canons and ritual of the Prayer Book. A special room was to be set apart as the Prince's chapel. Daily prayer was to be said. The altar service was to be duly performed with lights. Wafer-bread and the mixed chalice were to be used. Copes were to be worn. Sermons were to be preached, but the Spaniards were not to be irritated by controversial subjects. They were, however, to be enlightened by the theological works of James, copies of which in Latin and English were taken by the Prince's chaplains. But all this preparation was of no avail. The English chaplains were not allowed within the royal palace. In the eyes of Churchmen of the school of Abbot all such worship was simply a relic of Popery. So it was in the eyes of many members of Parliament. Their fear of Popery at the Abbey, when copes and wafers were used at the Eucharist, led to their connexion with the Church of St Margaret, Westminster ; a connexion which has been unbroken since April 1614. Such men had no visions of a reconciliation or reunion of the Catholic Church. To repress Romanists at home by means of the penal laws, and to shun everything which seemed to be similar to Rome in worship, was their policy. This agreed well with their foreign policy, which was to oppose Spain and to make alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany. The King had wider political views and a truer conception

of the position of the English Church. But in politics and religion he was in advance of his time.

James was encouraged in his views by a remarkable personage, who came to England in 1616. This was the Archbishop of Spalatro—Marc Antonio de Dominis. He had taken a great interest in the quarrel between Venice and Pope Paul V. The result of his studies was a conclusion that the Church had no Visible Head on earth. The bishops should be the rulers of the Church under Christ. As he could get no hearing from his brother bishops, who were in communion with Rome, he turned to England. There he hoped to find the Church in such a condition as would answer to the Primitive Church. Abbot was willing to receive one who had offended the Pope, and he was, therefore, for the time welcomed, given preferment, and assisted at the consecration of bishops at Lambeth.<sup>1</sup> But, as time went on, he began to be disappointed. The Church in England was probably not all that he expected. The deanery of Windsor did not satisfy him. He hoped to be again an archbishop. Toby Matthew, who was at York, is said to have published his own death, that he might enjoy the excitement and disappointment of his would-be successors. If this were so, De Dominis afforded him the pleasure which he sought. For these reasons he began to think of leaving England and returning to his allegiance to Rome. A friend of his was now Pope, and he seems to have hoped that he might acknowledge the English and Roman Churches as parts of the undivided Church, and recognize the English liturgy. He was received back into communion with Rome at Brussels. But when he reached Rome he found that

See Note II. on page 224.

his friend Gregory XV. was dead. He was imprisoned and died in disgrace. His curious story is of importance for us. All the English bishops—of whatever school of thought—received an archbishop in Roman orders and consecration as a bishop in communion with themselves. He was allowed to minister in the Church of England, and to take part in the consecration of bishops. In spite of her breach with the rest of the Western Church, the English Church was thus practically at one with the churches of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, as she said in her canons. A bishop or priest could minister at her altars because he was a minister of the Catholic Church. A Lutheran or Calvinist minister from Germany and France could not do so, because the Church did not recognize him as such. He would have to be ordained by an English bishop before he could minister the sacraments and preach the gospel in the Church of England.

It was in James's reign that the controversy about the Lord's Day arose. It was, as we shall find, a vexed question until the outbreak of the Civil War. It was one which touched the people at large very closely, and was consequently of the greatest importance. Whatever changes had been made by the Reformation within the Church's walls, there had been little change made on the village green. The people still amused themselves as they had been accustomed. The King and his Court did the same. He and his Council regularly met for business on Sunday. The Puritans, however, wished to put an end to all amusements on the Lord's Day. As the King passed through Lancashire he was asked to use his authority with the Puritan magistrates, who were trying to suppress what the people considered their lawful recreation. James

put the matter into the hands of the Bishop of Chester, as Lancashire was then in his diocese. It had been alleged on the Puritan side that the worshippers had been annoyed while in church by the people who were engaged in sports. The Bishop tried to be fair to both parties. He decided that all hindrance to worship should be stopped, but that every man should do as his conscience directed after the services. Here the matter might have ended. But the King put forth his 'Declaration of Sports'—first, for the county of Lancaster, and then for the whole country. He decided by this that those who worshipped in church might amuse themselves with dancing, leaping, or archery. They might not, however, bait bears or bulls, which was a favourite pastime with James himself. Those of the meaner sort were not to play at bowls. This attempt to regulate the amusements of the people was to be read from the pulpits of the Church. The Puritan Archbishop and the clergy who agreed with him refused to read it. James, who had no wish to quarrel with the Archbishop and the Puritan clergy, was wise enough to let the matter rest. This was in the year 1618.

In the next year James took a step which might have compromised the position of the English Church. The Dutch Calvinists were determined that the doctrine of their master on the subject of predestination should be strictly held by those in communion with them. Arminius, however, and his followers, who had propounded views differing on this subject from the position of Calvin, were summoned to the Synod, which had assembled rather for the purpose of condemning them than for open and free discussion. As the English King had a per-

sonal interest in the controversy, he readily agreed with Abbot that English divines should attend the Synod. For the moment it appeared that the King might use his great influence to bind the English Church with new fetters. But the danger speedily passed away. The divines, although sent by the King, with the approval of the Archbishop, did not represent the Church as a body, nor was she at all bound by its decrees. Yet the Synod of Dort had important results in England. ‘Arminianism’ was made a party name, and a divine in England, who taught the doctrines of the Catholic Church, was labelled with the name ‘Arminian.’ The principles of Hooker and Andrewes were now being more widely understood and put into practice. In the universities, where the works of Calvin and Bullinger had been text-books of divinity, the true principles of the Church were spreading, and the appeal to antiquity and the Fathers of the Church was being made a reality. When this happened the Calvinist divines became alarmed. They cried out that those who obeyed the rubrics of the Prayer Book were guilty of innovations. They accused those who taught the doctrines of Augustine and Chrysostom of ‘Arminianism’ and ‘Popery.’

We must now turn our attention to the man who was destined to bring the struggle between the two great parties in the Church to an issue. William Laud was thirty years of age when James ascended the throne, and had already been two years in priest’s orders. At St John’s College, Oxford, he had studied the Fathers and Councils of the Church under his tutor Buckeridge. His studies led him to see that the English Church was the ancient Catholic Church

of the country. He preached a sermon before the university in which he set forth her position. In the course of his sermon he pointed out that those who hold this position must allow that the Church of Rome is also a part of the historic Church of Christ. The same cannot be stated of the Foreign Reformed Communities. This raised a storm in Oxford, where Calvinistic teaching had prevailed. Laud, however, went on steadily, and a number of the rising generation adopted his principles.

In 1611 he became president of his college and one of the King's chaplains. Five years afterwards he was advanced to the Deanery of Gloucester. There he began the battle for the principles of Church law and order, which was to last on till the end of his life. The Bishop was a good Hebrew scholar; but he cared little for the decency of worship. The cathedral and town were a Puritan stronghold. "Scarce ever a church in England is so ill-governed and so out of order" was the Dean's verdict. He proceeded to repair the building—to remove the altar to the east end—and bade the Chapter keep their ancient statutes. There was a general outcry about innovations. But Laud persisted. His action at Gloucester is but an example of what he always did. He expected men to obey the laws and statutes which they had promised to obey, and to believe what they had professed to believe. He never asked men to do more. But in times when laws have been in abeyance, and principles have been forgotten, there is sure to be an outcry that the reformer is an innovator. Laud did not escape the accusation of 'Popery.' How far he was from favouring 'Popery,' and how untrue such charges were, the reader may know if he

cares to examine Laud's own works. We may briefly examine one of them that we may see what was Laud's own view about Rome and the great Church questions at the time.

The mother of the King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, had been deeply impressed by the arguments of the Jesuit Fisher. It seemed that Buckingham might also lend an ear to his arguments. Conferences were held, at first between the Roman controversialist and the Rector of St Peter's, Cornhill. Then Laud took the place of the latter. The result of the conference, which was held in the presence of the Duke and Duchess and his mother, has been preserved for us.

We learn, then, here what was the view which Laud and his school held about the Roman Church. He is quite willing to appeal honestly to antiquity. The Church of England, in the Canon already quoted, had taught him as a preacher that he must thus follow the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. What is the result? The Fathers speak in glowing terms of the See of Rome. Quite true. But so they do of the See of Alexandria. He appeals also to the fact of the existence of the Eastern Church—a lasting witness, through the history of the Christian Church, that the claims of Rome were not 'everywhere' accepted. He is quite aware that some would deny that they are part of the Church of Christ. For example, Bellarmine would deny it. They would not accept the 'filioque' clause in the Creed. But Laud thinks that in 'substance' they were in agreement, though in word they differed about this Article of the Faith.

This leads us to the great question—What is the

'substance' of the Faith? What are Fundamentals? Laud, appealing to St Irenæus and the ancient Church, would fall back upon the Creeds. Rome had made over a hundred Articles of the Faith where the English Church had left the matter an open question. The more we examine Laud's real view the more we are impressed with his breadth and his want of narrowness.

Or again—Why do we accept the Bible? Rome says, we accept it solely on Church authority. The Protestant says, we receive it solely on its own evidence. Laud would urge that we receive it for many reasons. He uses here and elsewhere cumulative proof. Church tradition is first in order of time, but insufficient by itself. The reason from Scripture itself is next in 'order of nature,' but is not sufficient by itself. The inward light of Scripture is something. Our own reason is something. We must use all those four things together, and we have our proof that the Bible is the inspired word of God.

So he gathers up this all-important question and touches on deeper things than the Roman controversy.

1. All science presupposes some principles. An axiom of theology is that 'Scripture is of Divine authority.' 2. Theology differs from other sciences. They proceed with such strength of demonstration that reason is forced to yield to them. Here theology differs from them. She relies on 'maxims of Divine knowledge supernatural.' God has told man eternal facts which he could not find out by his own reason. 3. Yet he holds that these truths are more sure than the results of natural science. 4. So in matters of Scripture. Its credit depends not entirely on the Church, but on its Author, who is

God. The Church is a cause to lead us to know its Author, who is alone infallible. 5. In our grounds of belief we stand with the Primitive Christians. 6. To believe in the Scripture is an Act of Faith. We arrive at the point that we cannot prove it by reasons which *must* be accepted. 7. So it is with the Person of God Himself. Reason helps us to know that God is—it cannot help us to see His Brightness, "which is too light for our reason." 8. And so we get an infallible assurance through the grace of God, by accepting all the evidence which God offers, that Scripture is true, His revealed word.

Such teaching on faith and reason would not come from a man who was likely to yield to the definitions and claims of Rome. He was not one who wished for an answer to every question, or that everything should be defined. He was content that much should be left undefined.

Yet he was too good a Christian to think lightly of the divisions of Christendom. He lamented the "miserable rent in the Church." "Nor is he a Christian if he would not have unity." Yet he says to Fisher "the cause of the schism is yours." As a remedy he urges a true and free General Council—the old suggestion of Cranmer and many others. Meantime the Church of England had acted as many Roman divines had allowed to be possible. Albertus Magnus and Gerson had said that the Catholic Church might be reformed in parts.

He was willing to allow in a united Christendom a primacy of order to the Roman Patriarch. But Britain would not appeal to Rome (he thinks) in any case—a favourite argument grounded on old precedent—used by Laud here, and Bramhall afterwards, in argu-

ing against Roman claims. But even General Councils are not infallible—not so great as the Church which they represent. He gives greater weight (as Andrewes does) to the first Four than to the others. When Fisher used the common argument that it is safer to join the Roman Church, as both parties allowed it to be part of Christ's Church, Laud met him by saying, "It is just the other way." That is the old trick of the Donatists. They said, You Catholics allow our baptism. We disallow yours. Let all then become Donatists. Your argument, said Laud, is similar. So in the Sacrament of the Altar, England is safer than Rome. We say "the worthy receiver is by faith made spiritually partaker of the true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really of all the benefits of the Passion." Romans and Lutherans define the method of the Presence. All agree that the English Church is right as far as she goes. All do not agree with you and the Lutherans. Therefore we might urge England is safer than Rome.

The book contains an interesting profession of his own faith. "I have lived and shall (*D.V.*) die in the Faith of Christ as it was professed in the ancient Primitive Church and as it is professed in the present Church of England."

Whether Laud's arguments are entirely sound is a matter of opinion, but there can be no doubt what was his view and real belief about the differences between the Roman and English churches.

We noted that one important result of the Hampton Court Conference was a promise that the English Bible should be revised. The bishops seem to have been in no hurry to do this. It was brought about mainly by the influence of the King. Such an under-

taking suited his best tastes. We will describe, then, briefly the method of the revision and how their work was accepted.

In the year 1607 six companies of scholars met and worked continuously until 1611, when the first copy of their work appeared from Barker's press. They followed the 'Bishops' Bible,' the Authorized Version as it truly was, as nearly as possible. Old words, such as 'church,' were preferred to 'congregation.' Marginal notes, which had disfigured some of the earlier English versions of the preceding century, were merely to explain the Hebrew, Chaldee, or Greek words. Each company sent on its work to another company, so that each scholar had some part in the whole work. Learned men from outside might be consulted. And that nothing should appear to contradict Church traditions, the Vice-Chancellors of the universities were to appoint three or four grave divines as overseers. These were to see that when there was a difficulty over a doubtful word, the meaning should be retained which "hath been most commonly used by the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the place and analogy of the Faith."

Such was the history of that revision of the Scriptures, which has been read in our churches until to-day. But as far as we can tell it was never authorized. It won its way by its own excellence. Copies of it were required to be set up in churches at any rate by the year 1622, when Laud ordered it in his Visitation Articles at St David's. Six years later a similar injunction was issued for the Diocese of London. But for a time the Geneva Version was its rival. Strangely enough, when Church authority and royal influence were for the time in abeyance, the King's

Bible and not the Genevan was adopted for general use. One attempt was made at revision by Parliament in 1653. But this came to nothing. Henceforth King James's Bible was used by Churchman and Puritan alike.

Although we are not directly concerned with the history of the Church in the northern kingdom, it is impossible to understand the course of events in the next reign without some knowledge of the religious policy of James and Charles. When the former spoke in his first Parliament he said that he wished to leave at his death "one worship of God, one kingdom entirely governed, and one uniformity of law." This was the policy of the first Stewart kings. In this policy Charles was assisted by Laud. That prelate's view was even wider, for he had visions of an English Church as widely spread as the Roman. He possibly looked forward to a time when the influence of the English Church would restore the primitive doctrines and discipline to the Church Universal.

In Scotland at the accession of James the system of Calvin was in full working order. It had its presbyters, lay elders, and its discipline. The King wished to restore the Catholic system of bishops, priests, and deacons, with its liturgy, order, and ritual. He went to work with caution, but was able to do much during his lifetime. He found a number of titular bishops without order and without revenue. In 1606 the Episcopal revenues were restored. Four years later these men were given power to excommunicate, and to induct and deprive ministers. In 1612 the Scottish Parliament ratified this work of the General Assembly, and Episcopacy was thus legally re-established. The 'bishops' were consecrated in England. They were

not, however, consecrated by the Primate, lest they might appear to be dependent on the See of Canterbury. Nor did they receive the orders of deacon and priest. They were consecrated ‘per saltum,’ as men had sometimes been consecrated in the Primitive Church. Thus the order of bishops was restored to the Church in Scotland with as little offence as possible to the Scottish people.

The next step was to restore a liturgy and to enforce the observance of the great Church festivals. In 1614 Easter Day was restored, and people were bidden to communicate on that day. Two years afterwards, at the Assembly of Aberdeen, a new Confession of Faith was authorized, and a new Service Book was to take the place of Knox’s Book of Common Order. Children, too, were to be examined by the Bishop or his deputy before Communion. At present there was very little opposition, as there was very little outward change in the Church services. But James was not willing to rest here. He wished that those who received Holy Communion should kneel; that the sacraments should, if necessary, be administered in private houses; and that children should be confirmed. The Archbishop, Spottiswood, begged him to postpone the changes for a year, and the bishops thought that such matters should be ordered by the Church Assembly. The King, however, believed that he might enforce them by his royal authority, and began to irritate the popular mind by erecting an organ and statues of apostles and patriarchs in Holyrood Chapel. Some of the Privy Councillors did not like the order to receive the Holy Sacrament upon their knees, and people in Edinburgh cried out that the Mass would soon follow. James had also offended

others by his method of raising the miserable stipends of the clergy : lords and gentry who held Church property being in some cases compelled to restore it.

But the King had no wish to push matters too far. He carried the 'Five Articles,' about kneeling at Holy Communion, Confirmation, and the Church festivals, which we have already noticed, at an Assembly at Perth. When this was done he made no further attempts to bring the Church of his northern kingdom into line with the English Church.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. TO THE OPENING OF THE SHORT PARLIAMENT

#### I. *To the Dissolution of the Parliament in 1629*

JAMES I. died at the end of March 1625. His funeral sermon was preached by Williams, who was both Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster. He had been trusted to a large extent by the King. During the whole of his career he was Laud's opponent. It has been suggested that had Charles likewise trusted to his advice, the history of his reign might have been very different. It was, however, soon evident that Williams' influence at Court was at an end. When the coronation of the new King took place on Candlemas Day in the next year, Laud, now Bishop of St David's, took the place of Williams, who as Dean of the Abbey should have played a leading part in the ceremony. The service was carried out with great care. Elizabeth had been crowned with the Old Latin Service. The form used at James's coronation differed in a certain number of details, and was, of course, performed in English. Laud now compared this with the older forms in the 'Liber Regalis.' He himself blessed the oil for the rite of unction, which was prepared by the King's physicians.

He attended the King on the night before, "when he was to give himself to contemplation and prayer."

He remained at the King's side during the service to inform him of his part in the ritual. There was apparently no alteration in the oath which Charles took, although in after years Laud was charged with making this change. The text on which the sermon was preached was "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life."

The words were an omen of the strife which was to end in the scene at Whitehall. The struggle which was so sorely to try the King's fidelity to the Church had already begun. The bonfires which had blazed and the bells which had rung when the news came that Prince Charles would not marry the Spanish Princess were an indication of the feeling of the classes, which were largely represented in the Commons. But before James was buried the young King had been married by proxy to another Roman Catholic princess at Notre Dame, in Paris. There was already suspicion enough that the Roman recusants would be treated with too much favour.

Now, French priests and servants meant an increase of Romanism. So the House of Commons suspected. Hence we have constant petitions that the cruel laws, which we have already noticed, should be rigorously enforced. Whatever promises Charles had made in favour of his Queen's religion, he was quite unable to perform. We have no proof that he had any wish to favour Romanists for the sake of their religion. On the contrary, it seems certain that he was strongly, though not bitterly, opposed to Romanism. When he was asked for a larger chapel for the Queen and her attendants and those who were present (for in a short time it became rather the fashion to attend her services), the King replied that they might hold their services in

the park, which was large enough. He refused to enlarge the building. But the true state of the King's mind was not known in the Commons.

There Sir John Eliot represented the better type of the Puritan Churchman. He spoke on the "purity and the unity of religion : the first respecting God, and the other both God and man. For when there is a division in religion, as it does wrong divinity, so, it makes distractions among men. . . . For the purity of religion in this place I need not speak, seeing how beautiful the memories of our fathers are therein made by their endeavours. In the unity I wish posterity might say we had preserved for them that which was left to us."

In Eliot's eyes the laws against 'recusancy'—with their fines and banishment, and, if necessary, death—were necessary to preserve what he called the 'unity' of the Christian religion. We must remember that he cared little for the Church as a Divine society, which was to be the mother of the whole nation. He looked upon the culture of the individual soul as the aim and object of religion. His was, after all, the Calvinist view of Christianity, and not the Catholic. His influence was deservedly very great in the House of Commons. The Committee of Religion which he addressed presented a petition to put in force the recusancy laws. They also remembered the Puritan clergy who had been silenced. They asked that they might again preach, if they would promise not to attack the Church and its authority. Pluralities and non-residence were to be checked. The incomes of the poorer clergy were to be improved. The religious policy of the Commons was evidently to be continued in the days of Charles.

While Parliament was anxious to stamp out Popery by the rigours of the law, others were trying to oppose it with the pen. Richard Montague was a canon of Windsor, and also rector of an Essex parish, Stanford Rivers. During the reign of James, Romanists had been busy in his parish. He was already a noted controversialist. James had requested him to write against the great Romanist historian Baronius. In another field he had engaged Selden on the subject of 'Tithes.' For the sake of his parishioners he wrote a pamphlet called 'A New Gag for an Old Goose.' It was a reply to a Roman tract, called 'A Gag for the New Gospel.' This tract took for granted that the English Church was merely a Protestant sect. From what he saw and heard the writer had probably much to say for his position. Montague took up the position in his answer that any Churchman would take who believed that the Church of England was the Catholic Church in this country. He did not rail against the Pope. Nor did he deny that the Roman Church was part of the Church of Christ. In details, he taught the Real Presence in the Eucharist, while he denied Transubstantiation. He denied that confession to a priest was always necessary for penitents. He would allow a right use of pictures and images. His objection to the invocation of saints was that it was impossible to tell whether they could hear our prayers. There was nothing very remarkable in all this. James had said that if this were Popery then he himself was a Papist. But the Commons had taken up the matter, and the Puritan Primate had tried to induce Montague to alter some of his statements. In a new book, which was called 'Appello Cæsarem,' he again stated his position. He was not a Calvinist

nor a Lutheran. He would be bound by no Synods of Dort or opinions of divines. He would take his stand with the Church of England upon the authority of the Universal Church. As a matter of fact, he and his friends were pleading for a far greater liberty than the Puritans in the Church were willing to allow. The Commons did not see this. They confused everything with 'Popery' which did not happen to fall in with their view of what the Church of England ought to be—a society with simple and decent worship, teaching the doctrines of Geneva. They reported against him, and he was for a time committed to prison.

Charles, however, boldly took his part. He made him one of his chaplains—possibly an unwise step until Montague had been acquitted by those who were capable of judging about the matter. By the King's command his book was referred to five bishops, who reported that there was nothing in it which was contrary to the Church's teaching. At the same time, they protested against the interference of the Commons in matters of doctrine, and urged that Convocation or a National Synod was the proper place to settle such differences. This point was afterwards urged by Laud. It was, we shall see, the ground which he took up in his celebrated Declaration (published in Charles' name) to the XXXIX. Articles.

It is quite true that Churchmen of the type of Laud and Montague were more liberal than their Puritan opponents. But, unfortunately for the Church, the opposition to them was not altogether religious. It was a time when party politics were running high. The men who were striving for civil liberty were in the midst of their contest against Charles and his Prime Minister, the Duke of Buckingham. The question was

to be fought out—whether the King was an absolute or a constitutional monarch. Many of the Church party held that the King was absolute. So it came to pass that preachers like Drs Sibthorpe and Mainwaring preached that the King by Divine Right might impose taxes and make laws. A sermon of Sibthorpe's was licensed by the Bishop of London, although Abbot, the Primate, had refused to license it. But the King was in want of money, and so the pulpits were again tuned—as they had often been before—so that the clergy appeared to be mere tools in the hands of an arbitrary government. Dr Roger Mainwaring preached two sermons, in which he stated that the King's subjects must obey the King, on pain of damnation. This was applied to those who refused to pay the loan.

It would, of course, be quite true that the King, if he were an absolute monarch, would have power to take his subjects' property—otherwise he cannot find the necessary means to carry on the Government. Parliament takes our property now, and has a right to do so. The real question, however, was whether the King was absolute or not. As Sibthorpe and Mainwaring, and those who agreed with them, held that he was an absolute king, they were logically correct. But to license their sermons was to take the side of the King against the opposition. Laud was wise enough to see this and refused to license the sermons.

But the political and religious teaching of the Church was equally distasteful to the majority of the House of Commons. They were ready to condemn the doctrines of Montague when he defended the Church against Rome, and Mainwaring when he defended the political theory of the Divine Right of kings. They also interfered in the case of Cosin, a Prebendary of Durham,

who had published a book of devotions for the ladies of the Court.

The book, and the subject generally, is worthy of attention. It was plain that the English Church needed something to supplement the ordinary services of the Church. The books of devotion which the Roman Church put into the hands of the Queen's French ladies suggested that some such books should be provided for the more devout members of the Church of England. Cosin drew up such a manual for their use. In his preface he stated that the old canons of the Church would have private prayers (as well as public) regulated by authority. Romanists charged us with giving up old devotions and being in fact a new sect. Here was a practical refutation. There were short instructions on the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments. If there are any controversial topics in the book, they are treated mainly from an anti-Roman point of view. People were taught their religious duties. There were lists of the theological virtues, deadly sins, four last things, and such information as we should naturally expect to find in such a book. The form of prayer for the various 'hours' contained nothing against which anyone who used the Bible and English Prayer Book now would find an objection.

The book, however, raised a storm of opposition. It was brought before the Commons. Possibly in quieter times, even then, it would have been published without notice. But men's minds were full of suspicion. So strong was the feeling that Charles for the time gave way before it.

There had always been a party of Churchmen which was neither Calvinist nor Puritan, and yet in opposition to Laud. Their leader, as we have pointed out, was

Williams. For the time they joined with the Puritan opposition and made their influence felt.

The Archbishop was again called back to Court. Potter, a 'moderate' man of Calvinist views, was sent to Carlisle. The book '*Appello Cæsarem*' was withdrawn by royal proclamation. Charles thus tried to conciliate the men who had been offended by Montague's books, and also by his earlier Church appointments. For Laud had become Bishop of London; Montague had been raised to the See of Chichester; and Mainwaring, whose sermons had caused so much feeling, succeeded the latter in his living of Stanford Rivers.

At the same time, Laud's influence was evidently as powerful as ever. The celebrated Declaration which was prefixed to the XXXIX. Articles, and which still appears in our Prayer Books, was now drawn up. It was published in the interests of peace and unity. Any-one can turn to a copy of the Prayer Book and read what it says. There is, therefore, no necessity to quote from it at any length. We may, however, observe that it commands that the Articles are to be taken 'in the literal and grammatical sense.' This often has been found to yield results which at first sight are not plain and obvious. The Articles are expressed in technical terms. In their literal and grammatical sense they are not (as Pitt judged them to be) Calvinistic. The Puritan party of the day saw this. They were consequently dissatisfied with the Declaration. Some desired the Lambeth Articles of Elizabeth's reign. Others could only say that religion was not safe in the hands of the bishops. The House of Commons met the King's Declaration with a Counter-Declaration, which it is important to notice.

"We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do

claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church, hath been delivered unto us: and we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians and all others wherein they differ from us." This was the last declaration of Parliament on the subject for the time. They had no further opportunity of speaking until 1640.

It was in this interval of eleven years that Laud was able to do his work for the Church of England.

## *2. From the Dissolution of the Parliament in 1629 to the Meeting of the Short Parliament*

For the next eleven years England was without a Parliament, and Charles and his Ministers governed the country. Laud was not to reach the highest position in the Church for another four years. But he was practically both Primate and Prime Minister. We have not to deal with his political views. We have to consider the life of the Church of England during this period. Laud's influence was felt everywhere. Those who supported his policy simply carried out his purpose. Those among the bishops who disapproved of his policy were not strong enough to resist him. There was no one among the bishops of any particular eminence or ability. Laud was obliged to rely much upon Charles' authority, which was entirely at his disposal.

He had before him a very difficult task. Bancroft had tried to introduce a certain amount of discipline among those who ministered in the Church. He had not been unsuccessful. But during Abbot's primacy

his work had been to a large extent undone. Laud had to deal with men who did not conform to the Church, or who did so with great reluctance. And he had to deal with many who were a scandal to the Church. There were, therefore, many enemies of the Church in the household of the Church herself. We have a description given to us by Richard Baxter of the state of things in his Shropshire home, during the latter years of James's reign. He tells us that there was little preaching. He also tells us that in one village there were four readers in six years, and two of these were men of immoral life. In another village there was an old man of eighty who never preached. There were men who ministered with forged letters of orders. Baxter evidently felt that the Church system was in many places nothing but the carrying out of a routine. There was neither the beauty of the Eucharistic worship of the Catholic Church, nor the zealous preaching of the gospel. The offices of the Church were read by men who were often unfit to minister. We need not suppose that this was true in all cases. But it evidently was a cause of much scandal and the reason why the Church could not retain the services of such good men as Baxter.

Laud was as anxious as anyone to put an end to such a state of things. He wished to see the system of the Church carried out in full. He had an ideal. He had also a practical object in view. This he believed might at any rate be carried out. Let the ministers of the Church carry out the Church's services according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. Let the discipline of the Church be a reality for high and low, rich and poor alike. He would have no discussion about matters which were likely to provoke strife or

break up the unity of the Church. How was he to carry out his project? Laud would rely on the royal authority, and he knew that Charles would not disappoint him.

There was no new ritual or form of service to be introduced, and no new Articles of the Faith were to be discussed. There was to be no change in matters of discipline. In other words, in all matters the laws of the Church and realm were not to be altered. They were simply to be enforced. Laud, therefore, believed that the royal authority was sufficient to do this. It may be the King's business to see that Churchmen carry out their obligations. This was what the Reformers had taught, what Hooker had taught, what Andrewes had claimed for the Christian ruler.

It is not Erastianism. That is the system by which the ruler of the state makes new laws for the Church, and possibly may claim to alter matters of faith and worship. Laud relied upon the King's authority to enforce the law of the Church. Royal injunctions would be enough. They were to be sent to the bishops and the bishops were to see that their clergy carried them out.

They dealt with such matters as the care in selecting men for ordination. The rubric stated that the children were to be catechized on Sunday afternoons. This was to be done instead of preaching a second sermon. In some parishes a lecturer preached, but did not wear a surplice. Henceforth he was to read the service in a surplice before his sermon. He was also to take charge of a parish, if necessary. The bishops also were warned not to waste the property of their sees, but to hand them on without loss to their successors.

Laud knew that the Puritan clergy were unlikely to

conform to his views. He therefore gave the King a list of men who were marked 'O' and 'P'—Orthodox and Puritan—in the early part of the reign. This was to be used by the King when he was selecting clergy for preferment.

The Primate looked closely into the subject of preaching. It was not because he was narrow-minded or wished to suppress opinions which were contrary to his own. It was true that under his régime preaching on 'dangerous' topics was prohibited. For example, Davenant, the Bishop of Salisbury, had preached on Predestination at Whitehall. He was summoned before the Council, and promised in the future to be silent on such topics. On the other hand, the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, was not allowed to publish a work in which he had promised to crush the Puritans and heal differences. Laud's care about preachers took rather a different form. There was an attempt made by Puritans and those who favoured them to evade the law by means of paid lecturers or preachers. Societies were formed to buy up impropriated tithes. This money was to be used to pay a preacher in the parish church. The best known of these societies was the Society of St Antholin's in London. But there were similar lecturers in many parts of the country. Abbot had naturally favoured the system. Noblemen were allowed to have their private chaplains. It seemed that it might be a means of satisfying men who wished to hear Puritan sermons and who did not wish to leave the Church. But in many cases the 'lecturer' did not perform the service in a surplice. Laud, therefore, looked upon the system as one which was dangerous to the discipline of the Church and contrary to her uniformity of worship. The Society of St Antholin's

was dissolved by an order of the Court of Exchequer. The impropriated tithes were forfeited to the crown. In this particular case the men who were the feoffees offered to submit to Laud's injunctions. It seemed, therefore, in their case a harsh proceeding and a blow dealt at an attempt to raise the stipends of the poorer clergy. But the Archbishop doubtless looked upon the whole system as a bad one, one which threatened to make a large number of the ministers of the Church independent of Episcopal authority.

We have already seen him as Dean of Gloucester attempting to carry out the reform of cathedral worship; a very necessary work. The great Church of St Paul's in London also needed his care. He set to work to clear away houses which had been built on to the nave, and repair the fabric, which was sadly dilapidated. These repairs were still going on when he was sent to the Tower in 1640. He wished to reach every cathedral and parish church in the country. In 1633 he made his visitation by means of his Vicar-General. The reports which he received showed that a reform was much needed. In many places the statutes were not carried out. At Canterbury, for example, the canons were non-resident, the choristers were untrained, and the sermon was often not preached. At Lincoln the altar was not decent, the organ was useless, and the copes and vestments had been sold. In Durham the services had been restored to something like their ancient order. Copes were used, and two large candlesticks stood upon the altar. The Nicene Creed was sung, and the people stood, according to the rubric. Reverence was made towards the altar. Cosin, who has been already mentioned as the author of the Book of Devotions, was a prebendary

of the cathedral. He defended the services, and probably had some influence in restoring order and decency. They were, however, attacked from the pulpit by Peter Smart, another prebendary. The matter came before the High Commission Court of the Northern Province, when Smart was silenced. The Bishop, however, disliked Cosin, and Laud was appealed to. At last the King forbade the Diocesan to proceed further in the matter. This short account of what happened at Durham is but an example of how difficult it was to perform the services of the Church according to the rubrics of the Prayer Book, even in cathedrals.

The removal of the Holy Table, however, soon became the chief point of interest. Already Laud had begun to carry out this reform in his cathedral at Gloucester, but not without opposition. The matter was really one of the highest importance. If the altar was to be again the centre of public worship, then it must be removed to its ancient position, and be treated with reverence. No doubt this was the right thing to do, from Laud's point of view. But the question was—Was it legal to do so?

In Elizabeth's time it had become the custom to move the Holy Table into the midst of the chancel during the celebration of the Eucharist. At other times it stood at the east end of the Church. By the Canon of 1604 it could be moved outside the chancel if necessary. But the altar is usually a weighty piece of furniture. It was not probable that the custom of moving it from one place to another would be general, especially if the Holy Communion was to be celebrated frequently. At the end of James's reign the altars in cathedrals and chapels royal stood generally at the

east end ; while in the majority of parish churches they remained in the midst of the chancel.

Two years after Charles' accession the question was raised at Grantham in Lincolnshire. The Vicar and many of his parishioners had disagreed about many things. He then moved the altar to the east end of his church. His opponents moved it back. There was an unseemly quarrel in the church, and the Bishop was appealed to. Williams decided against the Vicar and, as he said, according to the Canon. He then went further, and showed that there was something more in the matter than the position of the Holy Table. He attacked the teaching of Laud and his school on the Sacrifice of the Altar. Heylin, Laud's chaplain, answered him. Laud's intention, however, was to stop irreverence and profanity. It had been a common thing to find men putting their hats and cloaks on the altar when it stood in the chancel or in the midst of the church. Sometimes it had been used as a writing-table. On one occasion a dog had entered a church and carried away the bread which was to have been used in the holy service. It was natural that Laud should wish to put an end to such an unseemly condition of things.

In 1633 there was an appeal from the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's—the ordinaries of St Gregory's in the city—which resulted in an Order in Council that the Holy Table at St Gregory's should be permanently placed at the east end. Laud took advantage of this decision, and began to enforce this order in every case. It may be that in this instance the Primate was guilty of an 'innovation.' It is none the less true that he made it possible that the service of the Church should be performed with reverence,

and that the Eucharist should be restored to its true position, so that the altar and not the pulpit might again be the centre of Church worship.

The King also took an active part in the life of the Church. His royal supremacy was certainly a reality as far as he was personally concerned. He received the reports from the provinces of Canterbury and York each year and studied them. Each diocesan bishop was to send in a report to the Archbishop. The archbishops were to report to Charles. Thus the King would know whether the bishops were in residence in their dioceses, how many men were ordained, and whether the bishops held their visitations. The clergy were specially ordered to catechize. Laud evidently felt that further improvement was not possible while the people were ignorant of the doctrines of the Church. By carefully catechizing the growing generation he hoped that the Church's system of worship and discipline would be intelligently accepted. He looked upon it as more useful than the ordinary sermon. Hence his unwillingness to see the sermon at evensong displacing the 'catechizing' of the children of the parish. The bishops were also to give information about the people who refused to conform.

Laud and the King would have no exceptions. If anyone could naturally plead for nonconformity it was the 'foreigners'—Dutch, Italian, or French—who had from time to time settled in England. Hitherto they had been allowed to have their own services. They were of the usual Calvinistic type, and they asked to be allowed to continue to hold their own services. But Laud wished that all who were subjects of the English King should conform to the Church of England. He would make one concession. Those who had been born on

the Continent might still follow their own use. Their children, however, were to conform to the English Church. In 1634 Laud's Vicar-General reported that the ministers had promised to conform, and would persuade their flocks to follow their example. They seem to have done so, until the Archbishop's fall, when they resumed their own form of service.

However unwise it may have been thus to coerce men to become Churchmen, yet in many cases the Archbishop was content if he stopped gross irreverence and bad behaviour. For example, in various parishes in Shropshire the parishioners were feasted on Easter Day after the services by the parson of the parish. The feast sometimes (as at Berrington) was held in the church. In other places it was held in the parsonage. In some cases the feast was dropped. When the parishioners complained, the parson was bidden to continue the custom. Henceforth, however, it was never to be held in the church. At Berrington the Bishop of Lichfield ordered the feast to be held on the Easter Monday.

The Archbishop was a lover of the poor, and wished them to enjoy all honest and innocent amusements. Hence we find him unwilling to deny the people their accustomed sports on Sunday evening. This question of Sunday sports had, as we remember, been raised in James' reign. The controversy arose afresh in Charles' days. In some places the judges had forbidden Sunday village feasts and there is little doubt that they had often been scenes of disorder and intemperance.

The clergy were bidden to publish this order during divine service. This was looked upon as an encroachment on the King's prerogative. The Chief Justice Richardson was summoned before the Council and

well rated by the Archbishop. The Bishop of Bath and Wells was bidden to report on the subject of village feasts. He was unwilling to see them put down, and defended them. The upshot of the controversy was that the old Declaration of James I. about sports was reissued. Charles also commanded it to be read in church. The Puritan clergy were unwilling to obey the royal command. Some were suspended and some imprisoned, while others reluctantly obeyed. This class was represented by the London clergyman who read the Declaration and then the Ten Commandments, and added, "Dearly beloved, ye have heard the commandments of God and man, obey which you please."

The Archbishop doubtless wished the poor to have their rights. It was, however, at a time when the House of Commons was trying to enforce what it considered as the better observance of the Sunday. It became, therefore, one more subject of difference between the Government and the Opposition, the Church and the Puritans.

Laud tried to bring the foreign residents in England within the pale of the Church. He took little interest in the questions which arose between the foreign Protestants on the Continent. He looked coldly on schemes for uniting Lutherans and Calvinists. But his rule was felt by Englishmen who lived on the Continent. In Holland, for example, English congregations had grown up, and the Prayer Book was never used. So, too, many English regiments were serving abroad. Here the use of the Church Service depended on the colonel of the regiment. All this was now to be changed. There was only one place where the Archbishop could not touch

Englishmen who were unwilling to conform. That was in New England. But in all other places he insisted on the use of the English Prayer Book. In most cases the colonels in the army supported him, and the English service was used. Laud had in his mind a vision of the English Church united—uniform in worship and discipline—a Church which would strike the eye and imagination. In the words of Laud's chaplain, "It was now hoped that there would be a Church of England in all courts of Christendom, in the chief cities of the Turk, and other great Mahometan princes, in all our factories and plantations in every known part of the world, by which it might be rendered as diffused and Catholick as the Church of Rome."

Such a vision could not be in the mind of a man who wished to bring back the Church to the obedience of the Pope. During his days of power, Laud was naturally obliged to face the Roman question. He was quite willing that the cruel laws against Papists should be mitigated. Nor does he seem to have been averse to a Roman Vicar-General who should look after Roman congregations; but this was only while the Roman schism should last. He would not have any bishop exercising foreign jurisdiction and was always doing his best to reconcile Papists to the Church of the country. There is no doubt that he might have received high honours from the Pope had he adopted another line of policy. But he could not receive a cardinal's hat until Rome was something different from what she was.

He never seems to have hoped for any result from schemes of reunion between England and Rome. There were such schemes during the reign of Charles. Probably they did much harm to the English Church,

and made men suspicious. The following is apparently the truth about them.

The disputes among the Romanists about the Oath of Supremacy, which had begun in James's reign, had not yet been settled. Gregorio Panzani, an Oratorian, was sent over from Rome to make peace. During his stay in England he discussed 'reunion' with Windebank, the Secretary of State. The matter had been brought prominently before the Church by the publication of a book on the XXXIX. Articles by a Franciscan, Sancta Clara. His real name was Christopher Davenport. He is described by Lord Acton as the greatest Roman writer in England from Stapleton, in the days of Elizabeth, to Cardinal Newman, and attempted in his book to show that the Articles, if taken in their 'literal and grammatical sense,' were not so opposed to the doctrine of the Roman Church as was generally supposed. Windebank suggested that if Jesuit and Puritan influence could be withdrawn, reunion between the churches might easily be effected. Panzani was able to get from Windebank the concessions which would satisfy him and his friends. They were the usual list—the mass and offices in English—the communion in both kinds—and marriage of the clergy. The Italian listened with apparent sympathy, and said nothing. Montague seems to have been the only bishop who met him and discussed these matters. A conference in France between moderate divines on both sides was suggested. The matter, however, went no further during Panzani's mission. Laud was described as timid and circumspect, and little help was expected from him. In fact, he had not concealed his opinion that on the matters which really were at issue the Pope would give up nothing.

About the same time—in the year 1634—a Benedictine, Dom Leander, who had been with Laud at St John's, Oxford, was selected for a mission to England. He found the English bishops fixed in the principles of the Reformation. In other words, they were unwilling to acknowledge the Roman supremacy. He also advised a conference. He was favourable to the concessions about the English service and marriage of the clergy. But he would have the English clergy reordained conditionally. He had, in fact, much the same plan of reconciliation as some 'reunionists' in the early days of the Restoration. His death put an end to all plans of reunion. They were really never serious. They were nothing more than suggestions from men who were, at any rate, on the English side, speaking without the authority of the Church.

Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester, was probably the only bishop who would have conceded everything for the sake of peace. He was reconciled to the Roman Church before his death. Montague possibly hoped that some arrangement might be made. But nothing could have been done without the Archbishop himself. He saw that the whole question naturally turned on the papal supremacy. He was consequently hopeless about any practical result, though he longed for the peace and reunion of the Catholic Church.

Much of the unpopularity of the Archbishop was due to the fearless way in which he carried out the law. He had seen the Church's plainest rules set at nought. He determined that her laws should be fairly enforced upon all alike. It was probably his care for the 'discipline' of the Church which made him so unpopular with many of the upper and richer classes.

He used the High Commission Court largely for this purpose. It had been set up in Elizabeth's reign. Matters which would drag on possibly with little hope of conclusion could be dealt with speedily here. Offenders of high rank who might escape in a lower court were dealt with effectively in the High Commission Court. At a time, then, when the morals of the upper classes were exceedingly low, the Primate would find it a valuable institution. Professor Gardiner's verdict on the court is well worth remembering : "This court showed itself to be a special protector of injured women at a time when such was needed." During Abbot's primacy—but when Laud was all-powerful—Sir Giles Alington was brought up for marrying his niece. The defendant tried to get matters stayed by a prohibition from the Court of Common Pleas. A prohibition was issued, but in vain, as Laud suggested that the judges should be excommunicated if they thus shielded such an offender. Alington was heavily fined for his offence, and was obliged to give a bond for £2000 never to live with his niece again.

This, as Lord Clarendon tells us, is but one example of many great and rich offenders who were brought before this court. We can understand why the Archbishop was specially unpopular among men of this character among the upper classes. They were able, however, to find vent for their malice by joining with his Puritan foes, who often relied upon the help of such patrons. And closely connected in the minds of men with the High Commission Court is the Court of Star Chamber. It was a court created in the days of Henry VII. to deal with offenders who could not be touched by the civil courts. Owing to the close connexion between the Church and State, the officials of both

courts were often the same. Laud consequently sat in both courts.

Unfortunately, for the sake of the Church, the Primate took his part in the cruel sentences which were often inflicted. The people at large were not greatly affected by the heavy fines inflicted on peers or rich malefactors. It was a different thing when they saw men standing in the pillory and lose their ears because they had written something which the law called a libel.

William Prynne was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn. His mind was full of legal knowledge, and he had read widely in Church history. He had a marvellous memory. He had already attacked Montague and Cosin. His view was that their teaching was destructive of Protestant theology. He believed that the Church of England should adopt the decisions of Dort as articles of faith, and that she should be one of the many Protestant communities in Europe. But he did not confine himself to theology. In a book called '*Histriomastrix*' he attacked the stage, and through the stage the Queen, who was specially fond of theatrical performances. It was for this work that he received his severe punishment. Three others suffered with him—Burton, a Puritan clergyman of London, Leighton, and Bastwick. The most important of these is Leighton. He had published a book called '*Sion's Plea against Prelacy*'. He suggested that bishops should be abolished. He was then in Holland, and made himself conspicuous by refusing to observe Good Friday. He was brought to England and tried, first before the Commission Court and then in the Star Chamber. He is important, because his case begins to prove the existence of bad feeling against the English bishops.

It was already suspected that eminent men who still professed to be Churchmen were supporting Leighton. But he would reveal no names. He went through his sufferings bravely.

Works of this kind, however, did not cease. The Dutch press was busy, and poured forth pamphlets and books which attacked the Church. Laud determined that such attacks should be suppressed. These same men were again heavily fined, and imprisoned in separate prisons in Guernsey, Jersey, and the Scilly Islands. When they were first tried there was no great show of sympathy on the part of the people. Since that time the opposition to the King's Government had considerably increased. There was consequently a general outburst of sympathy for men who were looked upon as victims to tyranny. Laud and Juxon, who was now treasurer, had not, as a matter of fact, voted in their cases in this second trial. The former also said that in Elizabeth's day they would have been treated even more severely. However that may have been, we cannot help thinking that the Church lost much of the popular sympathy through the connexion of her Primate and Bishops with the Court which inflicted these sentences.

In spite of such scenes as these Laud's policy seemed to be successful. The reports from the various dioceses were on the whole satisfactory. He had not interfered much with men's opinions. He had shown himself to be generous to men whose views were very different to his own. Such men as Hales and Chillingworth, who were Broad Churchmen, had received preferment at his hands. There seemed a probability that the Church might do her work peaceably for some years to come.

It was just at this time that troubles arose in the

Northern Kingdom, which were destined to have such tremendous results.

We must turn, then, our attention to Scotland, as the fortunes of the English Church and English religion are so closely connected with the Northern Kingdom for some years to come.

Charles had been crowned at Holyrood as well as at Westminster. The form of service was very much what was seen in the English royal chapels on great days. Yet this moderate ritual deeply annoyed the Scottish people. Their vexation was increased by a renewal of the proposal about a liturgy. Laud's policy was to have a Church in all parts of the King's dominions with the same creed, same hierarchy, and, if possible, with the same form of worship. He naturally wished to see the English Prayer Book adopted in Scotland. But the Scottish bishops and clergy rejected such a proposal. James would probably have let the matter rest, at any rate for the time. He had done much. He had restored the bishops to power. But then he had, as a rule, the help of the nobles and gentry against the lower clergy. Now, however, things had changed. The nobility were jealous of the position of the new bishops. Some were Privy Councillors. The Archbishop of St Andrews was Lord Chancellor of Scotland. They also suspected that Charles was willing to restore Church lands, which they held, to endow the bishoprics.

He was, therefore, not likely to have their powerful aid in his policy. Yet he persisted. A liturgy was prepared—of a somewhat higher type than the English Prayer Book. This book, with new canons, was not even submitted to the Diocesan or National Synods of the Scottish Church. It was to be accepted simply on the

royal authority. At the same time, the altar was to be removed, as in England, to the east end of the chancel.

The result of this action of Charles and his minister is too well known to be described. The historic riot in St Giles, Edinburgh, was but a sign of the general feeling. Many felt that a book as obnoxious as the Roman missal had been forced upon them, while others resented this interference from England. The Solemn League and Covenant was renewed, and signed by nobility and gentry first, and then by the people at large.

Both sides prepared for war. Charles in vain tried to make peace. The work which had been done so slowly by his father was entirely swept away, and he was obliged to assent to the abolition of Episcopacy. Possibly he hoped that he might restore what he believed to be the divine form of government at the point of the sword. But the opportunity never came.

## CHAPTER IV

### FROM THE MEETING OF THE SHORT PARLIAMENT TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

DURING these times, when these important events were taking place in Scotland, there was outwardly a calm and peaceful time for the Church in England. But it was only the calm which precedes the storm. There was much political and religious discontent with the Government, but those who opposed the Church policy of Laud and the King were by no means of one mind. There were those who wished to get rid of the Prayer Book and Church order and put the Calvinistic system in its place, but they formed at present only a small minority. They had, however, a definite object and purpose before them. There were also those who would accept the Church's system, but wished to see changes in the liturgy. There were also a large number of people who had no desire to see the Prayer Book changed in itself, but who liked to use it as they pleased. They wished to see the altar standing in the midst of the church. We may call them, perhaps, the 'moderate' party, led by the astute, but not very scrupulous, Bishop Williams.

There was also behind all this the dissatisfaction and jealousy of the lords and gentry. They resented the interference of the bishops and clergy. But they

would lessen the power of the clergy as soon as they had the opportunity. They were not quite sure how they were to carry out their wishes.

The events in Scotland speedily taught all these men that it was possible to oppose the Government successfully. The King had been obliged to give way. War had followed. Charles had to rely on his English subjects, who were quite unwilling to help him. His raw recruits were no match for the veterans in the Scottish army, who had learned to fight in Germany. At last he was obliged to follow the advice of the Earl of Strafford, and summon Parliament. The Parliament only lasted for twenty-three days. But it had lasted long enough to prove how the majority of its members would deal with Church matters. In the Lower House Pym led the opposition. At present they acted together. They complained, through him, that by means of the innovations the churches had put on the 'face and shape of Popery.' Men who had introduced altars and crucifixes, and who had introduced a higher form of ritual, had been preferred. The faithful professors of the truth had been discouraged. But the attack went no further. As yet there was no attack on the Church herself.

But Convocation on this occasion was of more importance than the House of Commons. The King desired that its members should continue their work. It was doubtful whether they could continue their sessions after the dissolution of Parliament. Laud was averse to it. But the judges who were consulted decided that they might go on with their work until the King dissolved them. Charles wished to get their subsidies. He also desired them to complete their work on the canons. The result was that they continued to sit, and issued the canons of 1640.

These Canons would appear to us now to contain nothing but what was moderate and reasonable. They were, indeed, intended to conciliate the Church's opponents, and to explain and remove difficulties. The position of the altar had provoked, as we saw, much opposition. The new canons stated that the position in itself was a matter of indifference. The position at the east end and the rails were only for protection and decency. Bowing towards it was merely recommended, but not enforced. The reason for paying reverence to the altar was said to be similar to the reverence paid to the King's throne. The canons passed both Convocations, and received the King's assent. But they were afterwards looked upon as doubtful, even at the time of the Restoration.

At the time, however, when they were issued they caused the most violent opposition. One canon especially was selected as containing a veiled attack upon the liberties of Englishmen. The Scottish Covenant had imposed an oath on all who took it. The English divines thought it well that members of the Church of England should also take an oath of fidelity: "I do swear that I approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, *etc.*, as it stands now established." The 'etc.' was laid hold of as containing something which might be most dangerous. Many of the clergy who were Laud's opponents joined in the outcry.

The King thought it well that the taking of the oath should be suspended for the present. Meantime a second attempt to regain his power in Scotland had failed. It is interesting to us, because the soldiers refused to serve under Romanist officers. They began that rioting and defacing of churches which is always associated in our minds with the days of the Civil War. The leaders of the Opposition were glad to take any advantage of popular feeling. Ridicule was poured upon the bishops by means of squibs and ballads. Convocation was at last in danger, and had to be defended by an armed force. Attempts were made to sack the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and Laud himself was obliged to seek safety at Whitehall. It was plain that the struggle would be severe. It seemed as if all the opponents of the King and the Archbishop had suddenly arisen. For the moment the weak and hesitating members of the community all went with the stream. The Church had, or seemed to have, few defenders.

The King was obliged to meet Parliament, and when its members came together it was soon evident that the days of Laud and Strafford were numbered. The Opposition leaders had in all probability carefully laid their plans. Strafford was impeached almost immediately, and their most powerful foe was powerless. But we must remember that they were, nominally at least, Churchmen. They all received the Holy Communion at St Margaret's on November 22. They then proceeded to state their grievances. On each Monday the House of Commons was to sit as a Grand Committee for Church purposes. This Committee was skilfully used by Pym and the Opposition leaders. Up to 1640 the King and Laud had received reports of

a gradual acquiescence in the Church's discipline. Their opponents possibly thought that it was a question of now or never. But the first few months of the session seemed to prove that the principles of the Church had not been grasped by, at any rate, a majority of the people.

Petitions began to be presented from all quarters. Among them came a petition for the release of Bastwick and Burton. Others were presented with the same object for Leighton, Lilburne, and Prynne. They were liberated. The bells rang, and they were escorted by thousands of people as heroes and martyrs. Their sentences were revoked, and they were to be compensated from the Archbishop's property or Ecclesiastical Commission.

All this was a bad omen for the Church's cause. As an example of the attacks which came from the pens of those men, we may take one work of Prynne's. It was a violent attack upon all bishops, and especially upon Laud. Its title is too long for quotation. But its object and the spirit and accuracy of the writer may be gathered from the following account of it. The writer sets to work to prove that all the evils in Church and State may be traced to bishops. He quotes St Bernard and Bellarmine as well as Protestant witnesses against them. St Anselm is accused of plotting with Tyrrell to murder William Rufus. In a work which is dedicated to the Parliament which did so much for English liberty, he describes the events which led to the signing of the Great Charter as 'rebellious.' "In this rebellion and conspiracie, Stephen Langton the Archbishop was the Ringleader, yea, the principal abettor, conspirer, chief agent, and counsellor."

St Augustine of Canterbury was specially reserved to

the end to make a suitable parallel with Laud. He was the author of the massacre of the Monks of Bangor, through Ethelbert, who instigated the King of Northumbria to do the terrible deed. This, of course, makes a suitable comparison with Laud and all his evil deeds, who is the real object of attack. There is no necessity for us now to defend Anselm, Augustine, or Laud from such a perversion of historical facts.

While such attacks were made through the press upon the bishops and the Church's system, the arrival of the Scottish Commissioners made it plain that the attempt to destroy the English Church was to begin in earnest. The Presbyterian party in London began to grow steadily. Henderson, one of the Scotsmen, preached to large crowds in St Antholin's in the city. Robert Baillie, whose letters give us an account of the inner working of Parliament, was a centre of intrigue to establish Presbyterianism.

The enemies of the Church of England thought that their time had come. A petition against Episcopacy was presented to the House of Commons. The Archbishop was impeached, and followed Strafford to the Tower. More petitions against the Church came in. Churchmen who did not know their own mind, and who were mere tools in the hands of Presbyterian and Independent, often signed and even presented these petitions. A conspicuous example of this type of Churchman was Sir Edward Dering, who at first posed as a moderate Churchman and reformer with a desire to restore primitive Episcopacy. A few months afterwards he introduced the 'Root and Branch Bill,' which was to destroy the office of bishop altogether. Such was the fate of the 'moderate' Churchmen. They

were obliged in the end to defend the Church and take their stand upon the principles which Laud had laid down ; or they were helplessly swept into the ranks of those who were determined to destroy, 'root and branch,' the ancient Church of the country.

The debates in the House of Commons began to show that the question at issue was really this—Was the Church of England still to retain the ancient form of government? The defenders of the Church were quite ready to allow that the bishops' rule had been oppressive. Some were willing (as Lord Falkland) that they should no longer be Lords of Parliament, and that the Church should interfere no longer in matters of wills and marriage. Many of them seemed to think that the bishop might return to his position in the early days of the Church. All those who spoke wished that the Church should be under the control of the Houses of Parliament. It mattered not whether the speaker was for the preservation of Episcopacy, or whether he favoured the introduction of Presbyterianism, he had, at any rate, no wish to see the Church in any way independent of State control.

This was the difficulty which the Scottish Commissioners could never get over. They had their friends already in the House of Commons. Nathaniel Fiennes, for example, was ready to argue that 'Episcopus' and 'Presbyter' meant the same thing in the New Testament. England, therefore, might adopt the same form of Church government as Scotland. But he was not ready to agree that the Church should then have the same liberty as in Scotland. The question at issue was, however, put off for the present. Many hoped that some compromise might be made.

But it was impossible to hinder the more violent

party from taking the matter into their own hands, when Commissioners were sent out into the counties of England, by the House of Commons. They acted ostensibly under the old injunctions of Edward and Elizabeth. Altars were removed and statues were pulled down; crucifixes and everything which they chose to call ‘superstitious relics of idolatry’ were destroyed. Those among the people who sympathized with them forced their way into the churches and shared in the work of destruction. The services of the Church, too, were often disturbed. Some of the clergy who were Puritan conformists began to alter the service according to their own taste. The House of Lords vainly endeavoured to restore peace and to hinder irreverence. They issued orders that the service was to be carried out as usual, according to the law. They were willing that the altars might again be removed to the midst of the chancel.

They thought that the policy which was advocated by Bishop Williams might restore peace, and for the moment it seemed that something might be done in this direction. The attempt is interesting and instructive. The Bishop was appointed chairman of a Committee on Religion, which consisted of ten bishops, ten barons, and ten earls. They were to inquire into the whole system of worship, doctrine, and discipline of the Church. They were to suggest means for quieting the discontent. They and the men who agreed with them did not as yet understand that the enemies of the Church had no more desire that the Church of England should exist under ‘moderate’ bishops than under the bishops of the type of Laud. Their suggestions, however, are full of interest. They were ready to give way on most of the points which the Puritans had pressed at the

Hampton Court Conference. The altar was no longer to stand at the east end. The ante-communion service was not to be read at the altar. Of course, lights, statues of saints, and bowing to the altar were to be given up. There was to be more preaching and plainer singing. The ornaments rubric was to be revised, as they believed that it permitted all vestments for divine service which were used in the second year of Edward VI. to be worn. This is an interesting interpretation of that much-debated rubric by the moderate Churchmen of Charles I.'s reign. Lessons were only to be taken from the canonical books of the Old Testament. The sign of the Cross might be omitted, and a number of minor changes were to be introduced which it was supposed would conciliate the enemies of the Church.

But the Scottish Commissioners, and those who were working with them in the House of Commons, were not likely to be satisfied with these concessions. The House of Commons, in the month of May 1641, resolved on what was called a Solemn Vow and Protestation. It was drawn up "to defend as far as possible with life, person, and estate the true Reformed Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England against all popery and popish innovations . . . to maintain the privileges of Parliament, and punish any who should engage in conspiracy or do anything contrary to this protestation." Baillie and his friends looked upon this as an equivalent to the Solemn League and Covenant. They thought that it was one more step towards the realization of their wishes. Their aim and object was to offer to the English Parliament help in case of need. But the price of their help was to be acceptance

of the Presbyterian form of government in the Church.

At present very few members of Parliament were really willing to go so far. Falkland and Hampden had agreed on the reformation of Episcopacy. Hampden had promised that if the Bill for excluding ecclesiastics from secular offices was passed, he and his friends would be content. They would not touch the spiritual powers of the bishops. But as the Bill did not pass, this compact was not considered to be binding by the moderate members of the Opposition.

It was evident that when the Long Parliament met, that the Star Chamber and High Commission Court would speedily come to an end. The Church had no need to regret this. In fact, from a strictly Church point of view, they often infringed on the bishops' power. There was now an opportunity of restoring to the bishops' courts their true authority. But this was, of course, unlikely, and, in fact, impossible under the circumstances. Meantime their functions were taken over by Parliament. Every kind of subject was debated. Sir Edward Dering had surprised the House by introducing the 'Root and Branch Bill' for abolishing Episcopacy. It had, however, only passed the Commons by thirty-one. The Lords threw out the Bill. The Commons followed up their attack on the bishops by a Bill which was directed against the deans and chapters. It was the first attempt to confiscate the Church's property. Even men who held Presbyterian opinions were alarmed. Dr Burges, their leader, was as opposed to the secularization of Church property as Laud himself. But the idea began to be expressed in the House of Commons that it was quite sufficient if the buildings were kept in decent repair,

and if preachers were to be paid a reasonable stipend. The rest of the cathedral property might be used for the King's service and for purposes of education. The cathedrals were evidently no longer to be regarded as places where an ornate worship was to be paid to God. The music was to be as plain in them as in the parish churches.

For the time, too, the King's action must have puzzled his friends. He had paid a visit to the Northern Kingdom for the purpose of winning over the Scots. He had assented to the restoration of Presbyterianism. He had also taken part in their worship and had listened to two Presbyterian sermons on the Sabbath. A Presbyterian chaplain attended him and said grace at his table.

In England he had attempted to win over the Opposition. He appointed Williams to the vacant Archbishopric of York. Prideaux, a Puritan, was sent to Worcester. Charles had hoped that the stream was running in his direction. He received a very flattering reception in the city on his return from the North. He watched the proceedings in the Commons closely. There the defenders of the Church and the Royalist party, who had by no means been of one mind at the opening of Parliament, were now working together. The aims of the men who were desirous to uproot the Church's system were becoming more obvious. The debates on the Grand Remonstrance made this plain. Parties were more and more evenly divided. When the King received the 'Remonstrance' he promised that matters which were doubtful or distasteful in the Church should be referred to a National Synod. He would (he said) maintain the Church against Papists and also schismatics.

But the mob violence continued. Williams' servants vainly attempted to protect Westminster Abbey. The organ and the altar were broken down. Similar acts were continually going on in other churches all over London.

It was, however, possible that all sober-minded men would join together to hinder such proceedings. There had been a certain reaction. Unfortunately the protest of the bishops, led by Williams, against their violent exclusion from the Lords, was a tactical mistake. But worse than this, the King's attempt on the Five Members of the Lower House made it clear that peace was impossible. Charles had made one or two further concessions. Among them was one which he believed to be contrary to his Coronation Oath. He assented to the Bill which excluded the bishops from Parliament. Meantime, it was plain that the religious question was of the highest importance. The Church's enemies had presented petitions against her system. The Churchmen of the country—especially of the West—on their side petitioned that Episcopacy should be preserved, and that the liturgy “composed by the Martyrs of the Reformation” should be maintained intact.

It was evident that men were still hoping that the King and Parliament might settle the matters of the Church peaceably. All such hopes, however, were proved to be vain. How the Church fared in Parliament and during the Civil War we shall describe in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

WE need only follow the events of the war as far as they touch the fortunes of the Church. Parliament had already had an opportunity of declaring its policy in religious affairs. They took this opportunity when they answered the 'Kentish Petition,' one of the most important of the numerous petitions which were presented on Church matters. They promised to reform the government and liturgy of the Church, but only in matters which they considered offensive, or at least unnecessary. Their policy was as follows—to consult 'godly and learned divines,' while they retained in their own hands the actual power to carry out the reforms. In the month of June they had repeated this in the nineteen Propositions which they issued, in which they affirmed that Parliament was sovereign in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters. On this principle they acted, and we can understand how the 'system' which was at last set up as the 'Established Religion of England' was never really accepted. Presbyterianism was the 'system' which was finally established. And it was as much a mark of it that the Church exists by Divine Right, and ought therefore to regulate her own worship and discipline, as it was a mark of the Catholic Church.

Neither was the Parliament which carried out this change really representative, since at the outbreak of the war many members had left London. Nor were those who sat at Westminster really free to act as they pleased. It was plain from the first that the Scots would have a great influence in the fortunes of the war. It was, however, a question which side they would take. They answered the advances of the English Parliament with the reply that unity of religion would form the soundest basis for an alliance. The negotiations which followed prove how slowly and unwillingly the English were driven to accept these terms. The whole difficulty was summed up by the Scots' commissioner, Baillie: "The English were for a civil league: we for a religious covenant."

Bishops no longer stood in the way. But many English members of Parliament were willing to keep a modified form of the Book of Common Prayer.

Charles himself also felt the same difficulties when he tried to gain the ear of his northern subjects. He was asked to assent to the Bill which had now passed the English Parliament for abolishing Episcopacy. He could only promise that a religious settlement should be made by an assembly of divines in which the Scots should be represented.

Neither side concluded their bargain for a long time. But in the second year of the war the Royalist cause was triumphant, both in the north and west. It seemed probable that Charles might soon be in London at the head of a victorious army. The help of the Scottish army was then accepted. Unity of religion in the three kingdoms was the basis of the alliance. It is quite clear that circumstances, not principles, compelled the English Parliament to accept the Presby-

terian system. The result of this was that both Houses accepted the 'Solemn League and Covenant' at St Margaret's, Westminster. Prelacy as well as Popery were to be extirpated.

Malignants were to be searched out, and those who took the covenant were to defend one another. A man who took the covenant solemnly swore that he would help to root out the Church of England with its threefold ministry and liturgy, and establish another system in its place. In the following February every one over eighteen years of age was to take the covenant. It was to be read in each church. The consequence of this was that every clergyman who believed in the Church of England, and who chanced to live in that part of the country which owned the Parliamentary rule, was ejected from his benefice. But again the fortunes of the war influenced the course of the religious history of the people. Cromwell had succeeded in holding his own during the Parliamentary reverses of 1643. He was the victor of Marston Moor. On that day the Scots had fled from the field. In the next year the 'new model,' as his army was called, won Naseby field, where the cause of the King was for the time ruined. But Cromwell and his army were for the most part Independents. Hence the influence of the Scots and Presbyterians waned.

Meanwhile the godly and learned divines had been called together to assist the Houses of Parliament in reforming the Church. The Commons had promised to issue a reformed Prayer Book. The divines at Westminster were for the most part Presbyterian. A few were Independents, and some thirty laymen and the Commissioners from Scotland also took part in the deliberations. The latter relied on the Independents

not only to reform but to abolish the Book of Common Prayer, which they called the 'great idol of England.' And they were successful. The result of these deliberations was that the 'Directory for Public Worship of God in the three Kingdoms' took the place of the English Prayer Book. This form of service was henceforth to be used in the cathedrals and churches of England.

The book gave to the minister who used it certain suggestions as to what he should do, but left much to his own judgment. At the ordinary services prayers, two lessons, singing of psalms, and a sermon were ordered. The minister might pray as he pleased, but he was recommended to use the Lord's Prayer. The minister was to instruct the people at baptism, and tell them that the children of the 'faithful' are Christians, and have a right to the sacrament. The Communion was to follow the morning sermon, and those who received it were to sit about the table. The minister was to sanctify and bless the elements, when St Paul's words of Institution were to be recited. Then a prayer or blessing was to be offered, and the minister would give the Communion to himself and the people. There was a Form for Marriage which was to take place in church, when the man and woman promised to be faithful until God should separate them by death. But the Burial of the Dead was to be performed without any ceremony. Some instructions were to be given to those who visited the sick. A special form of prayer was added for the sailors. This book was debated in the Commons, and the Lords accepted it on January 4, 1645, the same day on which they passed the Bill of Attainder against Archbishop Laud.

Laud and Wren, the Bishop of Ely, had been in the Tower since the meeting of Parliament. Some

suggested that they should be banished to New England. At last it was settled that Laud should be put on his trial. He had refused to recognize the authority of Parliament when it appointed to benefices. He had already been heavily fined. His bitterest foe—Prynne—had been allowed to seize his books, papers, diary, and even book of devotions, when preparing a case against him. There was no single charge of treason which could be brought against him. But he was to be condemned on a charge of fourteen articles, which, taken together, would constitute an act of treason. The trial dragged on before the few peers who sat as the House of Lords. Even these attended irregularly. He was able to clear himself from all charges of subverting the laws of England. He was able to answer each point of the charge about change of religion. But his enemies were determined that he should die. A Bill of Attainder was brought in, and passed the Commons on November 13. Two months afterwards it passed the House of Lords, when only six peers were present. The old man spoke to the crowds who gathered round the scaffold on Tower Hill. He publicly forgave his enemies. He laid special stress on the fact that neither he nor the King his master had any desire to bring the English Church under the sway of Rome. So he had declared before Parliament. The verdict of history fully confirms his words.

His great work had been to keep a uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Was the Church of England to conform to discipline, doctrine and outward worship according to the Calvinistic system? Or was she to remain a part of the Catholic Church which had existed since the day of Pentecost, with her

hierarchy, sacraments, ritual, and doctrine? All men did not see at the time that this was the principle at stake. Laud's enemies wished for the former, and because of fear and suspicion, or for political reasons, men who were professedly Churchmen sided with them. But his death impressed men deeply. They began to see that he had died for a great cause. He died and his work remained. Is it too much to say that because of his life and death, and because men like-minded with him suffered at this time, the settlement of the Church of England at the Restoration was the settlement of the Catholic Church in England, and not that of a Puritan body in communion with Scottish or Continental Presbyterianism?

Meantime Laud's work was apparently destroyed. The new 'Directory' was attached to a Parliamentary Ordinance, which was, in reality, a Puritan Act of Uniformity. Copies of the Prayer Book were called in. Penalties were attached to its use. For the first two offences men were fined, and for the third offence they were imprisoned for one year. Ministers who failed to use the 'Directory' were fined forty shillings for each offence. It was another example of a revolution in England, carried out under legal forms. They were careful to follow precedent. The Latin Missal and Breviary of the English Church had been thus called in, and men had been fined for using them in Edward's reign. Now the English Prayer Book was treated in the same fashion. Parliament acted as if it were still legislating for the English Church.

Parliament, however, not only changed the Church's worship, but also produced a Confession of Faith in a similar fashion. The divines were to draw up this new system of doctrine. But Parliament was really to

settle what was to be the doctrine of the Church. It was needed as a sacramental test. For ignorance about doctrine, as well as evil-living, was to be a bar to communion. When, however, the divines sent in their Confession of Faith, the Commons were not satisfied. They asked for Scripture proof. The Lords seem to have been willing to let it pass more easily. They wished 'Protestant Churches abroad as well as people at home' to know that they desired no innovations in matters of faith. As a matter of fact, the Westminster Confession of Faith never received the sanction of Parliament. The labours of the divines were not, however, entirely thrown away, as it was received by the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk.

But if Presbyterianism was really to take root and flourish as a living system, its discipline must be settled and maintained. Scotland had accepted Calvin's system at the hands of John Knox. Would Englishmen accept it as well? The Scots, who pressed it on the unwilling Commons, might have learned a lesson from the fate of the English bishops.

At the Reformation in England the Bishops' and Archdeacons' Courts had retained much of their power. This had lasted until the meeting of the Long Parliament. During the first year of that Parliament (to give but one example) two thousand persons had been brought before the Archdeacons' Court in London for moral offences. Thus the Discipline of the Church had not been exercised merely to make men bow to the Holy Name or conform to the Church's service. Men were punished for drunkenness and breaches of the Fourth or Seventh Commandments. "The Bishop's Officer"—as Lord Morley puts it—"the Archdeacon,

was as busy as the Magistrate in Bow Street."<sup>1</sup> When the bishops' power ceased, all this system of discipline came to an end. Would Parliament be willing to put a more rigorous discipline in its place? It was most unlikely, as members of Parliament and men of their class disliked the Church's discipline far more than her ritual.

The question came up for settlement when it was necessary to draw up lists of offences which would exclude from Communion. Who was to try the offender? Was he to appeal if condemned?

After endless debates and struggles between the Presbyterians and Independents on the one side, and the Erastians and lawyers on the other, a limited power was allowed to the elderships, which consisted of ministers and lay-elders. But Parliament insisted on an appeal to a committee of themselves. In their Ordinance they still asserted that they were legislating for the true Protestant religion professed in the Church of England. They were now no longer dependent on the aid of Scotland. They could do as they pleased. But they did not understand that they were condemning their new system to uselessness before it was really set up.

The same story is repeated in the matter of Ordination. The Scots believed that their system was divine—set up by the Founder of Christianity Himself, and revealed in Holy Scripture. The Independents, of course, believed nothing of the kind. The lawyers and a number of members of Parliament, inclined to favour Presbyterianism, had no belief in any form of Church government. But the clergy had been ejected from their parishes. Who was to perform their duties?

<sup>1</sup> Morley's 'Life of Cromwell,' ch. i. p. 59.

Parliament was very anxious that no unauthorized minister should officiate. In an Interim in 1645 they ordered that any man ordained in a Reformed Church might minister, if he conformed to the Parliamentary religion. But this was only for the time. After many debates an Ordinance—unsatisfactory to the Scots—was issued. The ‘classical’ presbyteries should approve and ordain men, who had taken the Covenant and could satisfy the examiners in doctrine, and that God’s grace was in them. But the difficulty was that the ‘classes’ were not in existence. And when they were set up they only existed efficiently in London, Lancaster, Essex, and a few counties. How far they existed on paper only it is difficult to tell. Hence there arose the practical question. Churches were not served. In London, where Presbyterianism was strong, there are complaints that there were churches with no ministers. The Provincial Synod of London told the Lord Mayor that forty parishes were vacant. Some parishes refused to elect their ‘elders.’ Ministers did not attend the ‘classes.’ Rules were made and reports were drawn up. But there was no real life in a system which was merely the creation of a Parliament, which did not believe that it was setting up the Kingdom of God, as the Scots believed or as Churchmen believed. So the records of the ‘classes’ tell us that their members attended well at first—at least in London. But their numbers gradually diminished. The men in power—Cromwell and his Council—were Independents, and were not likely to do anything to further the cause of Presbyterianism. No man was obliged to attend a ‘classis’ unless he wished. Few at last took the trouble to attend. There was the same state of things in the

country. No civil power was there to enforce the 'discipline.' In some places ministers refused to administer communion because the people would not accept 'discipline.' In other places the people demanded a general administration. There was confusion everywhere. The Long Parliament had tried to impose upon a conservative people a system which was foreign to them, and enforce habits to which they were not accustomed. The natural consequence of this policy was failure. It was intended to be the form which the Church of England was to assume after Parliament had tried its hand at reform. But circumstances hindered Parliament again and again from doing what they had at first intended.

It was quite clear that, when the war left Cromwell master of the situation, his religion must be tolerated. The 'Instrument' which conferred upon him the power and title of 'Lord Protector' laid it down that all religions except two should be tolerated. The two exceptions were the churches of England and Rome. The Bible was the foundation of religion. Provision was to be made for a 'Bible' ministry. Until a settlement was made no one was to suffer penalties for religion—except those who did not share in this toleration. The 'Petition and Advice' which settled the Protectorate in Cromwell's family dealt with religion in much the same way. The established religion — nominally, as we have seen, Presbyterian — soon became in no sense an organized body. It became a public institution for preaching and teaching what Cromwell considered a scriptural religion. But in it there was no place found for Churchmen and Romanists, who were not tolerated because they were considered bad citizens.

Everyone else might practise their religion, but only those who conformed to the State Establishment could receive any payments. The vexed question of toleration was thus brought to the front. The action of the Erastians in the Commons had cleared the way for a kind of toleration for others. They had, however, to face the persistent opposition of the Scots and their friends, to whom the day of toleration was the ‘hour of darkness.’ But the army had won the victory, and no one could deny them the exercise of their religion.

Hence, when the King fell into the hands of the army, he enjoyed comparative liberty. The Presbyterians would rescue him from a soul-destroying system—the bishops and their teaching. The army allowed his chaplains to minister to him. Nor were there men wanting in the Church who were willing to respond to such religious liberty. The negotiations which had been opened at Uxbridge in 1645 were fruitless. But they are to be remembered by Church people, because we have a practical scheme of toleration, first put before the world by the King’s clerical advisers from Oxford. They advised Charles to tolerate Presbyterian and Independent—the vast majority of the Protestant dissenters. The advice then given contained ‘the germ of the policy of 1689.’

But the negotiations at Uxbridge came to an end. The Presbyterians would hear of no such compromise. They intended that there should only be one form of religion in England, and that was to be their own. Such, too, was their policy when Charles was no longer at liberty. What settlement would he agree to? The King would not entirely give up the Church. That is, he would not agree to a Bill (as he had done in Scot-

land) which destroyed Episcopacy. He wished to gain time. He tried to play off one party against the other. The result was the second Civil War, in which his cause was hopelessly defeated. Then Cromwell, who seems to have been willing to save him in 1647, gave him up in 1649. At the back of all the intrigue, there was a rooted determination on Charles's part not to give up the Church. Only after consulting the bishops would he recognize Presbyterianism for a term of years. But such schemes soon fell through. The question had now passed out of the hands of King and Parliament into the hands of Cromwell and the army, and they had determined that he must die.

Through all the negotiations the religious question plays a prominent part. The people saw afterwards that had he consented to give up the Church of England he might have saved his life. Hence in the natural reaction which followed his execution, he soon became the royal martyr. Then it was known that he had bidden his children remain faithful to the Church. The 'Eikon Basilike' was believed to give the true account of his policy, his desires, his sufferings for his Church. Churchmen, at any rate, forgot his faults, his inconsistencies, his weaknesses. They only remembered that he had received the martyr's crown. And what they believed was doubtless true. Charles's real thoughts were, at any rate, expressed to his wife and those friends who were quite willing that he should abandon his Church. To them he was quite clear that he would die rather than desert her cause.

In the meantime, what had the Parliament done with the Church's property? They would of course deal with this, as they had promised to carry through a reform of the Church of England. They had begun

their first session with a Corporate Communion at St Margaret's, Westminster. They were, many of them, members of county families. They were not likely to have any very revolutionary ideas with regard to property or patronage. Large numbers of them left Westminster at the beginning of the war. Some, like Sir Edward Dering, the Kentish member, wavered, and changed sides. But there was always a strong Conservative influence in the Commons. When they came to deal with Church property this was apparent. The payment of tithes continued. The Minister of the new State establishment received the tithes of the parish priest. Later on there were discussions about tithe. Some members of Cromwell's Parliaments thought them relics of Judaism. Some hoped to escape the obligation of paying them. Others thought that a more satisfactory method of paying the ministers might be devised. But nothing was really done. Tithes continued to be paid to the parochial ministers throughout the period.

Another part of the Church's property went to pay for the expenses of the war. The bishops and clergy were mainly Royalists. A Parliamentary Ordinance was passed in the second year of the war by which the property of those who were serving Charles was confiscated. Thus episcopal and cathedral estates were largely used to pay for war expenses.

There had been complaints made from the reign of James I.—especially by the Puritan party—about the poverty of many of the clergy. They also complained about pluralities. Plans were devised and often discussed how preachers might receive a competent salary. In some cases grants were made out of 'improper' tithes. It was also suggested that some of

the cathedral property might be used for this object. But very little seems to have been used for the improvement of poorer benefices. Large sums went in military expenditure. Large sums were also spent in paying Parliamentary committees and others who carried out the work.

Patronage was also interfered with far less than we might suppose. Puritan lords and gentry were as tenacious of their rights as their neighbours. Parliamentary committees presented to livings in the gift of the Crown or of the bishops. When Cromwell came into power he and his council exercised this patronage. But lay patrons who were not 'delinquents' still exercised their rights. Barebones' Parliament made an effort to deprive them of it, but failed. But in 1656 an Act was passed which gave back to lay patrons their rights when the nominee of Parliament died or retired from his benefice.

It may possibly be urged that we should only trace the fortunes of those who remained faithful to the Church during this period. But we must remember that the Long Parliament were in intention dealing with the Church of England, even when they destroyed Episcopacy, made the use of her liturgy a penal offence, and set up Calvin's system and the 'Directory.' They were men who had been baptized by her clergy, and had professed to be in communion with her. Most of them, doubtless, looked upon her as one of the Protestant communions of Christendom. Episcopacy might exist. But it was unnecessary that it should do so. Large numbers of people who used to attend her services still went to the same building and heard the minister preach and pray according to the Directory. There does not seem to have been the same con-

sistency among the majority of Church people in England as we can find, for example, in parts of France at the time of the Revolution, when vast numbers would attend the worship which their own priests conducted in barns, or houses, or in the open fields. There was an acquiescence in the new state of things at any rate over a wide area. In some places, however, it was obvious that the changes in religion were only just tolerated.

On the Christmas Day of 1647 there were popular outbreaks at Canterbury, Ipswich, and other towns. The birthday of Christ was now ignored, or it was to be a fast instead of a feast. Shops were to be opened as usual. In these places the churches were again decked with green, and the Church service was performed. The people began to understand that Laud and his followers were the real friends of liberty. They discovered that their real oppressors were those who talked loudly about the people's rights while they deprived them of their amusements and holy days.

Thus the Parliament which had intended to reform the Church had ended by disestablishing and disendowing the Catholic Church in England. The question now arises, What became of the bishops and clergy of the Church? How did those who remained faithful and constant to her teaching enjoy the means of grace during this troubled period?

We will first of all deal with her ministers. The Primate of all England was, as we have seen, put to death. Wren of Ely remained a prisoner till the Restoration. Other bishops were imprisoned and then released. The Northern Primate—Williams—who had in vain tried to lead the moderate party, retired to North Wales, and died in the same year as the King. Others

died early during the war. Some of them—as the learned Prideaux, the Puritan Bishop of Worcester—were obliged to sell their books to buy bread. Some lived on the charity of their friends, while others had private property. Juxon of London and Piers of Bath and Wells lived on their own estates. These two, together with King of Chichester, Frewen of Lichfield, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, and Duppa of Salisbury, lived to see the Restoration. But some received worse treatment than others. Naturally Mainwaring of St David's was of this number. Hall, the gentle Bishop of Norwich, suffered much in mind and body. He tells us how his cathedral was sacked, and how vestments and books were burned in the market-place, “a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the Church.” He was turned out of his palace, and his goods were seized. Four hundred a year was supposed to be allowed him as a pension from the Episcopal Estates. This, however, was never paid in full, and often not at all. We observe that the treatment of men of Puritan opinions—such as Winniffe of Lincoln—was much the same as that which was meted out to those who were looked upon as followers of Laud. The bishops, then, who had private property were able to live in retirement, and helped their poorer brethren. When the Church seemed in danger they consulted how she was to be preserved from extinction. Duppa of Salisbury held meetings at his house at Richmond to take counsel for the Church's benefit. But no new bishops were consecrated. Sir Edward Hyde tried to bring about a consecration, but there were supposed legal difficulties, and

no actual necessity arose, though the number of bishops had largely diminished.

Priests and deacons were ordained in private. Skinner of Oxford ordained men in secret. "This suffering prelate had the courage, even in those times of usurpation, to send many labourers into the Lord's vineyard, according to the liturgy of the Church of England, when the exercising of this power was made penal." So Nelson tells us in his life of George Bull. And although it was unsafe to give letters of orders, yet the bishop felt sure that the day would come when the Church would be restored. Then he promised that letters of orders should be given to those who had received the sacred ministry at his hands.

As soon as the Long Parliament met, they appointed, as we saw, an Assembly of divines to assist them in their work of reform. They thus set aside the Convocations of the Church. This action was, of course, quite unconstitutional. So also was their action with regard to the parish priests. They began to deprive some of them and put others in their places. They attacked men either for their teaching or their ritual. Here and there the Lords deprived a clergyman. But the Commons went to work with more method. They appointed what was called a Committee for Scandalous Ministers. Some were charged with 'popery,' others with a 'scandalous life,' others merely as 'delinquents.' Very soon, however, another committee superseded this one. This was called a Committee for 'Plundered Ministers.' It was appointed at first to look after the interests of clergy who had been deprived by a bishop or during the war by the King's troops. They soon began to try all clergy who were brought before them. All who would not take the Solemn League and

Covenant, or who were charged with using the Prayer Book and not the Directory, were ejected from their benefices. This meant that all those who were brought before them were deprived of their livings unless they renounced the Church's doctrine and worship. The Presbyterians were quite consistent in their action. Their aim, as we have already seen, was to bring about a uniformity of religion in the three kingdoms. There was to be no toleration for any other system. Those Churchmen who had pleaded for a moderate reform and a return to primitive Episcopacy were in a difficult position. They had made their bargain with the Scots, and if they were to remain faithful to the Parliament they were obliged to overcome any scruples or wishes in the matter. During this condition of things the sufferings of the clergy were naturally very great. They were suddenly placed at the mercy of their enemies. Some were obliged to leave their homes with no compensation. Some were imprisoned. Others were confined on hulks on the Thames.

The Lords at first dealt with a few cases, and allowed the ejected priest half the income of the benefice. But this was speedily changed. The committees were allowed to pay one-fifth if they thought proper. But the priest was obliged to leave his parish. He was to live where the committee pleased. No word of objection or anger was to escape his lips or the lips of his wife or children when he was ejected. Many had to follow some other calling where these were able to do so to avoid starvation. There were some who could practise medicine. There were others who could teach. Thus the houses of gentry and nobles who remained faithful to the Church were harbours of refuge for clergy, who acted as their chaplains or tutors to their children.

Some few, it appears, remained untouched. This was when the extreme poverty of the benefice offered no temptation to the Commissioners.

But the Presbyterian power lasted but a short time. Cromwell had no love for them or for their Scottish friends. The Engagement soon took the place of the Covenant. By it men were merely asked to take an oath of fidelity to the Protector's Government. Some Churchmen argued that this might be done with a good conscience. Others replied that it was unlawful. For the time there seemed a ray of hope for them, and some clergy who took this oath even held livings. But such hopes were speedily dissipated. A committee of thirty-five Triers were appointed to approve of the men who were to serve in the religious establishment of the Protector. The ordinance which appointed them spoke of "weak, scandalous and popish, ill-affected men who had intruded themselves." Such language shows that some clergy had either returned to their livings or had been presented by patrons, who were becoming tired of the unsettled state of religion and who longed for a restoration of the old state of things. The Triers had large powers. They examined men who had been appointed during the past year—the year when some who had sworn to be faithful to the Government had been presented. They were consequently again ejected. But a far worse blow was to follow. An order of Cromwell touched the unfortunate clergy who were trying to live as chaplains, tutors, or schoolmasters. The Royalist gentry were not allowed to keep them any longer. No such clergy were allowed to keep a school, preach, or administer sacraments, under pain of imprisonment for the first two offences and banishment for the third offence. John Evelyn's words express

the feelings of the faithful laymen of the time. "I went to London where Dr Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer the Sacraments, teach schole, etc., on paine of imprisonment and exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seene; or the Church of England herself since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing both of Papist and Presbyter." These are the heartfelt words of pain of the sober layman. His diary is valuable for us as we study the period. We see into his private house. He and his family on Easter Day meet in his library. Mr Owen, an ejected priest, preaches on the Resurrection and administers Holy Communion. Later on we see him with a band of faithful Churchmen worshipping together at Exeter Chapel in London. On Christmas Day, 1658, he tells us, "I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas Day, Mr Gunning preaching in Exeter Chapel on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house and others carried away." Evelyn himself was examined and his name taken. He was asked why he observed the "superstitious time of the nativity." He was informed that the English liturgy was "but the Mass in English"—a view which was held generally by the Puritans. Finally he was dismissed "with much pity for my ignorance." "As we went up to receive the Sacrament the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffered us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps

not having instruction what to do in case they found us in that action."

Evelyn gives us here and in other places an example of the home life of faithful Churchmen during the time, and also a glimpse into the secret meetings of Churchpeople who were determined at all hazards to worship God according to their conscience.

There was another centre of Church life in Paris. Many Royalists and Churchmen had taken refuge on the Continent. The Church service was regularly held in the Ambassador's chapel in Paris. Cosin, the Durham Prebendary, who had been so violently attacked; Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and others, preached and ministered there. The Bishop of Galloway held ordinations of priests and deacons. Here, too, men were kept faithful to their spiritual mother. The clergy of the Roman obedience might well ask Churchmen, Where now was the English Church? Some might well become faint-hearted and despair of her fortunes. Very few, however, deserted the English Church for the Church of Rome. One bishop, Goodman of Gloucester, became a Romanist. Only four clergy belonging to cathedrals or collegiate churches, and four Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge, who are mentioned in the list of those who suffered ejection, followed his example. No parochial clergyman submitted to the claims of Rome. Here and there a layman did so. It is remarkable that so few succumbed to what must have been a temptation to many. It was a proof, if any proof were needed, that the many accusations of Popery brought against the English bishops and clergy were false.

The exiled bishop or priest had apparently little to lose and much to gain in this world by submitting to

the Roman claims—claims which we remember were understood to be moderate by many of the French clergy amongst whom they lived.

On the contrary, men who were in sore straits and poverty, with great knowledge of the history of the Church and of the Fathers—Bramhall, Cosin, Hammond, and men of their type—defended the English Church with their pen against the attacks of the Romanist as well as against those of Calvinist and Puritan.

There were many signs that the hopes of men like Bishop Skinner were likely to be realized as soon as the Government of the Protector came to an end. Some of the ministers of the Church were able to silently prepare the way. They took advantage of the system which Laud had so severely condemned. The Puritan then, as we saw, was willing to pay for his Calvinistic doctrine when he could not get it from the parish priest. The ‘lecturer’ supplemented the ordinary sermon. The same system now kept alive in some places Church teaching. It was by this means, for example, that Pearson, who afterwards became Bishop of Chester, was able to deliver his celebrated lectures on the Apostles’ Creed at St Clement’s, Eastcheap, in 1657. He saw that the very foundations of the Christian faith were in danger of being subverted. He therefore did his best to build up the people and teach them in full, at any rate, the fundamental truths of the Catholic faith. George Bull was doing the same thing at Bristol, and also using parts of the liturgy, which he recited by heart. Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, was in the same way ministering at Cheam. Others less known were probably doing what they could in other places.

The people, however, felt deeply as time went on the loss of those services which touch most nearly every family in the kingdom. In some cases the Burial Office was allowed. But it was rarely used. It had been forbidden in the case of King Charles himself. The poor would be entirely deprived of its consolation. In 1653 the Little Parliament made a radical change in the marriage law. The Directory had at any rate contained a meagre religious service. This was now no longer necessary, and marriage was, for the first time in English history, declared to be merely a civil contract.

Such things touched the family life of thousands of people who had no very clear ideas about the distinction between Episcopacy and the Presbyterian system, or about the doctrines of grace and predestination. The changes which had been carried out by Parliament, and then by the Government of Cromwell, had been very great. The people had been accustomed to come and receive the Eucharist at any rate at Easter. They had been married by the priest according to a form which was substantially the same since the Church had ministered to their Anglo-Saxon fathers. They felt that the dead had suffered some loss when the priest no longer said the burial office. But they could not openly express their feelings while the Protector was alive, and his major-generals were rigorously repressing everything which favoured the old Church and her system. One cannot but feel that the mass of people were kept down by force and fear. They could have no love whatever for the new 'Establishment.'

Nor could they be much impressed by the sincerity or reality of many who thus repressed them. We need not accuse Cromwell himself of hypocrisy. Religion doubtless entered largely into his life. He had at any

rate up to the last years of his life an abomination of the Catholic system of the Church. He had a definite idea of what he wanted—a Bible religion with no Church. His words to the Little Parliament show us what was in his mind. He pleaded for a faithful ministry, such as did not derive itself from the Papacy; the true succession being through the Spirit. He believed in no Apostolic Ministry, no Divine Society, but he would have a number of men paid by the State to interpret the Bible and to conduct a worship with as little form and ceremony as possible. Such was his ideal; and he was quite logical and consistent. But the people saw much pomp and magnificence about his Court. Racing and card-playing were not unknown among ‘lords’ of his creation and members of his own family. His chaplain wrote to Baxter: “My call hither was a work I thought very considerable—the setting up of the worship and discipline of Christ in this family . . . but now at once I see the designed work here hopelessly laid aside. We affect here to live in so loose a way that a man cannot fix upon any certain charge to carry towards them as a minister of Christ should; so that it were as hopeful a course to preach in a market, or in any assembly met by chance, as here.” The majority of people could at any rate understand that there was a vast difference between the severe ordinances which deprived them of their holy days and old amusements, and the pleasures and manner of living in the Protector’s Court, or in the house of many a wealthy Puritan merchant or lord who supported the Government. There had been also a great change of feeling among the higher classes who had supported the Royalist cause. Many of them had been Puritan, or at any rate had not supported the policy of Laud. Many of them

had been Calvinist in belief, while outwardly, of course, conforming to the Church. These men suffered exile, or were fined, or had seen their estates sequestered, as well as the staunchest Churchmen. They had been fellow-sufferers with bishop and priest, whose doctrine and discipline they had cordially disliked in the day of the Church's prosperity. They now forgot their Calvinism—the religion of their persecutors. They were willing to join hands with their fellow-sufferers and help the Church to regain her old position.

The way for the events which followed so rapidly on one another after Cromwell's death was being silently but surely prepared.

Although they do not strictly belong to the history of the Church of England, the rise of the Voluntary Associations is a matter of so much importance that we cannot omit to mention them. The attempt to enforce Scottish Presbyterianism on English people had failed. Cromwell's Government would not enforce it. Men were therefore left to act for themselves in many parts of England. Richard Baxter, who saw with pain and sorrow the state of religious confusion in the country, did his best to provide a remedy. He was a priest of the Church, who did not accept her teaching. But he was a theologian, a man of deep piety and much wider views than most of his Puritan brethren. At Kidderminster he laboured night and day for the good of the people. He saw around him parishes with no ministers. He saw that attempts at discipline were failing in most parts of England. Associations of men of like mind with himself sprang up in all parts of England, Wales, and even Ireland. They would supply men and administer such discipline as the 'faithful' would accept. It was

a great voluntary effort to keep religion alive. It was an attempt to deal with a special need in a special way. Baxter would keep the Associations free from all current politics. His work went on till the Restoration of the Church. Nor did the effect of his work cease even then. Churchmen found, as we shall see further on in this period, that they must follow Baxter's example if they were to deal with many questions which came up for solution. They found that the Church's system did not touch many problems. Questions which arose about the Church's duty to her children abroad, as well as those which touched morality and education at home, caused the growth of similar associations. They sprang up—not without opposition on the part of some leading Churchmen—and continued to flourish side by side with the ordinary machinery of the Church.

#### NOTE ON THE 'EIKON BASILIKE'

The death of the King, and possibly in a lesser degree the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, caused a reaction of feeling amongst the people of England. But even before the death of Charles his sufferings were made known by a book which was believed for many years to have been written by himself. The 'Eikon Basilike,' 'the Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings,' was issued in 1648. Its popularity was proved by the fact that it nearly reached its fiftieth edition, and the veneration for it was so great that a divine is said to have suggested that selections from it should be read in the services of the Church.

The illustration upon the title page was possibly as useful as the arguments in the book to prove that the King's intentions were honest and that he was indeed a confessor and martyr for his religion. Charles is represented kneeling at his prayers with the Bible opened before him; in his hands is a crown of thorns, 'asperam et levem'; above him there is the crown of glory,

'beatam et aeternam,' while the troubles of this world are represented by the raging waters of the sea, the Catholic Church stands 'immota triumphans'—the rock against which neither the powers of this world or of hell can prevail.

The work, which has been ascribed to Bishop Gauden, may well reflect the real sentiments of the King. It contains twenty-seven chapters, each one concluding with a prayer, which is largely expressed in the language of Scripture. Many of the chapters are political, and contain an apologie for the royal authority and the King's action during the recent troubles. It is impossible to believe that all the statements are to be seriously accepted; for example, "No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament than myself," scarcely represents the feelings with which Charles met the Long Parliament. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the words upon the death of Strafford tell us what his Master felt as he was approaching his own end. "I never met with a more unhappy conjunction of affairs than in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle; when between my own unsatisfiednesse in conscience and a necessity of satisfying the importunitie of some people, I was persuaded by those that I think wished me well to chuse what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of conscience before God." The book then protests very truly against the 'insolency of the Tumults' which raged around the Houses of Parliament in the days immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and proceeds to review the chief events of that period in order. But the portions of the book which touch upon the Church questions are those which interest us as students of the Church's history. He very clearly understood that the Churchmen who had sold their Church had found that they had made a bad bargain with the Scots; but he goes on to urge "that English Churchmen cannot so soon renounce their former opinion and practice only because that party of the Scots will needs, by force, assist a like party here, either to drive all ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy, at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks."

Upon the great points at issue—the liturgy and the episcopate—he tells us that he was not unwilling that the Prayer Book should be revised, nor that bishops should rule with the counsel and consent of their presbyters, but he is equally clear that "since

the first age for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any settled church, wherein were many ministers and congregations, which had not some bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.” When, however, he defends his action in the northern kingdom, he is not so satisfactory. He gave his sanction to the destruction of Episcopacy ‘because it was not so firmly rooted there.’ “Nor I so strictly bound to continue it in that kingdom as in this, for what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places and in all times.” Further on he allows that he did not do what was right, and that this is no argument why he should do wrong again.

In his last words he gives advice to his son Charles, whom he would rather see ‘good’ than ‘great,’ “above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in your religion ; the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England in which you have been educated ; yet I would have your own judgment and reason now seal to that Sacred Bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own religion, and not other men’s custome or tradition which you professe.”

The last part of this section, in which he tells him that ‘after many disputes’ he has come to the conclusion that the Church of England is the ‘best in the world,—“keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny and the meanness of fantastique anarchy,” would suit well the temper of his subjects. Church people would no longer suspect him of Romanism, and his people generally would revere him as a true Christian when they read his prayers for themselves and his enemies. “So I beseech God not to poure out His wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted me or engaged against me,” “as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven.”

In the following year an answer appeared, ‘published by authority,’ from the pen of John Milton. It was entitled ‘Eikonoclastes,’ in answer to a book entitled ‘Eikon Basilike.’ Although it seems to have had very little effect upon its readers, it is interesting for us to notice what arguments and what methods were used by the Government at this period. There is certainly more abuse than argument in most of its pages. The people, who began to look upon their unfortunate King as ‘martyre and saint,’ were told that “Quaint anthems and devices begg’d from the olde

Pageantry of some Twelfe-night's entertainment at Whitehall will doe but ill to make a Saint and Martyr : and if the people resolve to take him sainted at the rate of such a canonizing, I shall suspect their Calendar more than the Gregorian." He then asks, with a plain reference to the Presbyterians, who were unwilling that the King should be put to death, "What are the causes? The Prelates and their fellow Teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whose Pulpit-stuffe, both first and last, hath bin the Doctrine and perpetual infusion of scurility and wretchedness to all their hearers." The apology for the Prayer Book he answers with the usual Puritan argument about the 'mass book in English,' and an onslaught on the learning, sincerity, and piety of those who were considered to be martyrs by all good Protestants. "For the matter contained in that book we need no better witness than King Edward the Sixth, who to the Cornish rebels confesses it was no other than the old Mass Book done into English, all but some few words that were expunged. And by this argument, which King Edward so promptly had to use against that irreligious Rabble, we may be assur'd it was the carnal feare of those Divines and Politicians that modell'd the Liturgie no furder off from the old Mass, least by too great an alteration they should incense the People and be destitute of the same shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young King." "Much less can it be lawful that an English Mass book, compos'd for aught we know by men neither lerned, nor godly, should justle out, or at any time deprive us the exercise of that Heavenly gift, which God by special promise pours out dailie upon His Church, that is to say, the Spirit of Prayer." He then proceeds to argue that the Church used extempore prayer for four hundred years, and only used a fixed liturgy "to remedie the infirmities of prayer or rather the infections of the Arian and Pelagian heresies, neglecting that ordain'd and promised help of the Spirit." When writing on the subject of Church government, he accuses the King and his advisers of speaking as scandalously against the Reformation as any Papist, and traces the true Church up to apostolic days, or at any rate to the times of Constantine, through the Waldenses. His argument about the coronation oath reminds us of the advice given at a later date, viz., that it is only binding as far as it went with the desires of the people. His last words, which touch the King in his last and most sacred hours and in his tenderest moments, were not likely to be received with much favour, or to benefit the cause which he

was advocating. He ridicules the idea of the King's need of a chaplain of his own religion. "Wherefore should Parliament take such implements of the Court cupboard into their consideration?" ; and in answer to his words to his son he speaks of the Church of England as "an Anti-Papal schisme (for it is not much better)."

His opinion of the work which passed as the King's was "that may catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and image-doting rabble. The rest whom perhaps, ignorance without malice, or some error, less than fatal, hath for the time misledd, on this side sorcery or obduration may find grace and good guidance to bethink themselves and recover."

*N.B.*—The 'Eikon Basilike' was accepted as the work of the King down to the year 1692, when a clergyman named Walker, who was an intimate friend of Dr Gauden, wrote a book which, to use Macaulay's words, "convinced all sensible and dispassionate readers that Gauden and not Charles 1st was the author."

## CHAPTER VI

### THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT

THE settlement of the Church which was made at the King's restoration claims our close attention. It was not only a settlement after the Civil War, but was also the Reformation settlement of the Church of England.

The King had been restored to the throne, and had come back without conditions; which was indeed General Monk's great service to him. The question was, What settlement would be made about the Church? This was no doubt a cause of great anxiety to Churchmen. For Monk was a Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian party had already been acting as if a restoration of the King meant a return to the 'Directory,' with its doctrine and discipline.

On the 1st of May 1660 the King's declaration appeared. He declared, "We do declare a liberty unto tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

There is no reason to accuse the King of not intending to give effect to his promise. We must, however, re-

member that he was not entirely his own master. The Presbyterian divines who accompanied a deputation of Members of Parliament to Holland tried to gain his ear. They suggested that it would be dangerous to use the Prayer Book. The people were now not accustomed to such a service. Moreover, the sight of a priest in a surplice would be an offence. Charles, however, would make no promises, and he wisely waited to see whether all these forebodings were true. When he landed in England he quickly perceived that they were false. The Prayer Book service had already been used in the House of Lords and in not a few churches. The deputations had also brought back unpleasant memories to the King's mind by their mention of the Covenant.

But as yet he was not prepared to break with any of his supporters. Many leading Presbyterians were therefore numbered among his chaplains, and their party was invited to state any objections which they had to the liturgy of the English Church.

In reading over their objections and the things which they asked for, we can see that they still longed for one form of Church government in England and Scotland. As Henry VII. had united two great houses, and James I. two great kingdoms, so might King Charles unite Christian brethren. They seemed to think that they and Church people were agreed on subjects of doctrine, but differed merely on Church worship and government. They were willing, they said, to try to establish a modified form of Episcopacy—some such plan as that of the Long Parliament in its early days. Ussher's opinions on the subject of primitive bishops were greeted with approval. But they let it be seen that they really looked on a bishop

and presbyter as practically one order. At the same time, they suggested what would have been a useful piece of Church reform—the division of certain large and unwieldy dioceses.

But their demands and the reply which they received from certain of the bishops show us that a compromise was impossible. They asked for a scriptural liturgy. They meant a form of service which was agreeable to God's Word according to their own interpretation. At the same time, this was not to be too rigorously imposed. Extempore prayers were not to be thereby forbidden. They begged Charles not to impose upon them the ancient forms and ceremonies of the Church. They aimed at a form of service which should make the English Church genuinely 'Reformed.' It was to be outwardly similar to the worship of the religious bodies in Scotland and the Continent, which were considered to be the 'true reformed churches.'

The reply of the bishops showed where the difference in principle lay. They said that it would be well for us and all reformed churches if the liturgy used were to follow as closely as possible on the lines of the Antient and Undivided Church. The worship of the Catholic Church before her division was their model, while the worship of Scotland and Geneva was the model of the Puritans. We see, therefore, how impossible it was to bridge over the gulf of separation between two parties with such different ideals.

At the same time, the Churchmen were willing that a revision in the liturgy should be made. They were willing that some ceremonies should be left to the King's discretion.

There was a natural state of confusion in Church as well as State after the late Civil War. A new

House of Commons had not yet been elected. But the Lords had returned to their seats in the Upper House.<sup>1</sup> The vacant bishoprics were gradually filled up. Juxon, who had faithfully attended the late King on the scaffold, was the natural successor of Laud. Sheldon went to London in Juxon's place. Morley, who had carried on the work of the Church in Paris, went to Worcester. Cosin, who had laboured with him, received the See of Durham. Sanderson, the author of the Preface in the Prayer Book and the helper of his poorer brethren in distress, became Bishop of Lincoln. Reynolds, the Puritan, accepted the See of Norwich. Baxter might have had Hereford, but refused it. Parish priests and university and cathedral clergy returned to their posts. But the ministers who had been presented to vacant benefices during the late troubles were for the present left undisturbed.

The important question of property was also to be settled. Crown, Church, and private property had to be dealt with. When private individuals had been obliged to sell, the present owners were left in possession. But when the Government had dealt with property, as in the case of Crown and much Church property, their acts were considered invalid. Episcopal property, that of the cathedral chapters, and all other Church property which had been thus sold, was restored to the Church.

Meantime there had been another royal declaration. The Puritans had made their request. The King had in all probability no desire to make them conform to the Church. At any rate, he would not endanger his crown by any such action. He would rather wait and see how the nation accepted his suggestions. He began, therefore, by declaring his desire

<sup>1</sup> See Note II. on p. 225.

for 'unity.' He assured them that foreign Protestants were struck by the religious divisions in England. They were sorry for it, as they regarded the English Church as a great bulwark against Rome. He was quite aware that his own moderation had given offence to both parties. He would not, however, be deterred from doing his duty. Then the King went into some details. The observance of religion, and especially the Lord's Day, was to be encouraged. Learned and pious men should be selected for bishoprics. The suggestion about division of dioceses should be met by the appointment of suffragans. The bishops should not be the bishops of his father's days. They should be advised by their presbyters. A National Synod should settle the question of kneeling at the Holy Communion. In other matters he promised that conformity should not be enforced. The liturgy should be revised by a number of divines equally taken from both parties. The Presbyterians and Puritans generally were naturally delighted with this declaration. But their joy was of short duration. This Declaration of Indulgence was submitted to Parliament. In the Commons it was defeated by a majority of twenty-six. There was obviously small chance that it would be accepted. Charles and Clarendon began to see what the true state of things was. The nation was in no temper to make the concessions which were demanded, and the King and his Minister had no power to make them.

The King now issued a warrant which carried out part of the above declaration. Twelve divines from each side were to meet to consider the possibility of amending the Prayer Book. The existing book was to be compared with the ancient liturgies of the Church. There were to be no unnecessary changes,

but where it was possible 'tender consciences' were to be satisfied. They were allowed four months for their deliberations. They were to meet at the lodgings of the Master of the Savoy in the Strand, and at the end of this time send the result of their work to the King. It seemed at first as if the method of the Hampton Court Conference was to be followed. If it had been so, the changes would not have been made with the assent of the Church and State. For neither Convocation nor Parliament could have had a voice in the matter. Happily it was not settled merely by the King in Council. The time was approaching when the stormy period which had begun in the days of the Tudors, with its revolution and counter-revolution, was to come to an end. There is no actual proof that the liturgical changes in Edward VI.'s reign were sanctioned by the Convocation and Parliament. The changes in Elizabeth's days and in the reign of James I. had certainly received no such sanction. But no settlement was likely to be looked upon as final which lacked the authority both of Convocation and Parliament. The deliberations of the divines at the Savoy Conference are of importance in our study of the period.

The objections of the Puritan party often went into the minutest detail. They were, of course, not merely the objections felt by the Puritan representatives at the Savoy. They had been long felt by many of the most learned and pious divines on the Calvinist or Puritan side for many years. We must therefore notice their general as well as particular grievances, and also the answer which the bishops made to them. They naturally argued that they expected something from the King's declaration, and suggested that the policy of the divines who drew up the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

should be followed. It was at that time that a liturgy was put forth which it was hoped would satisfy Papists and not offend their opponents. They urged that the same policy might now be followed in a revision of the liturgy which could be used by Puritans and all orthodox Protestants.

The reply of their opponents showed that such concessions were very improbable. The Church could not follow 'private opinion'—but God's Word as generally received in the Catholic Church. Orthodox persons, they would urge, interpret Scripture by Catholic consent. Who among such orthodox objected to the English Prayer Book? Whatever, then, might be the outward mark of difference—the sign of the Cross or ring in marriage—the real point of difference was, Are we to interpret the Bible according to the tradition of the Catholic Church or according to the tradition received from Calvin?

They objected also to a multitude of details. In one way they would have altered the very essence of the Church's worship. The people were to make no responses, the minister was to read psalm and canticle, and even the litany was to be one long prayer. They objected, they said, to the murmur of the congregation. The bishops appealed to the psalm—when the people were able to respond—"For His mercy endureth for ever"; they appealed to the custom of the early Church, when the people still responded; and they also appealed to common sense, for people who responded were more likely to keep awake and attend to the service.

The Puritans objected to the observance of Lent. They quoted an Act of Elizabeth to prove that the season had been retained for the sake of the fishing

trade. They objected to saints' days and vigils, to the reading of lessons from the Deutero-Canonical books of the Old Testament, and also to the use of the word 'priest.' The bishops replied according to the general answer. They were unwilling to divide from the Church Catholic. They pointed out that if one Act of Elizabeth had spoken of the benefit to the fishing trade, another Act confirmed the Prayer Book where Lent was enjoined as a season of religious observance. 'Priest,' they said, was a more definite word than 'minister.' As far as outward forms and things which met the eye were concerned—the ornaments of 'the church and the vestments of the ministers—the Puritans had not forgotten the services at Durham and other cathedrals and churches before the Civil War. They suggested that the Ornaments Rubric should be removed, because it ordered those things which had been omitted in the second book of Edward's reign. This, however, the bishops refused. When St Paul spoke about things which offended the weaker brethren he was not alluding to things commanded by authority. In the Eucharistic service they said what Romanist assailants had said before them. There was no direction for the 'breaking of the bread.' This was true. But it was one of the things which priests had done by tradition, as Andrewes had answered to the Roman objector. It was not, however, a thing which might with safety be left to tradition, and the direction which was added to the Prayer of Consecration remedied what was felt to be a defect. Again, they objected to any words in the Confirmation or Marriage service which suggested that sacramental grace was to be obtained in those rites. They wished the answer to the Catechism to be clearer on the subject. 'Two

only—Baptism and the Lord's Supper'—would be an answer similar to other Protestant Catechisms, and would exclude the possibility of giving the name of sacrament to any other ordinances. They wished for the restoration of the 'Black Rubric' at the end of the Eucharistic service, which had been hurriedly thrust into the Prayer Book of 1552 and omitted in that of 1559. This had denied the Presence in the Eucharist in terms which might be taken as a denial of the Primitive Doctrine as well as that of Transubstantiation. Baxter, who possibly did not sympathise with all the above objections about sacramental teaching, strongly objected to the statement that all baptized infants are undoubtedly saved. The objection gives us an insight into the difficulties about agreement. With men of his stamp it was not so much a difficulty about ceremonies or orders, as the way in which the Church should regard her children. Are they God's elect or not? The bishops would reply 'Yes.' Baxter and his friends could not say 'yes' unreservedly. It was plain that the Catholic and Calvinist took a different view of the whole of man's life from its beginning.

Any agreement was, therefore, highly improbable from the first. When they were within ten days of the time when the conference must end, it was arranged that they should hold a debate on certain points. It is sometimes easier to make explanations in this way than by writing answers to objections. The Puritans stated eight propositions, which they said were not agreeable to the written Word of God. This led to a heated and lengthy debate. Both sides remained unconvinced, and the Savoy Conference came to an end on July 25, 1661.

The debates were not, however, altogether fruitless,

It was evident that a revision of some kind would take place. But at first it seemed that the Church's Convocation would not be summoned. The unsatisfactory method of Elizabeth's and James's reigns might be followed. In the case of the present book this was happily not the case. Convocation came together in May. Particular services were drawn up—such as a Form of Thanksgiving for the Restoration, and a Service for Adult Baptism. The latter service was necessary, both at home and abroad. It was an indication that the Church of England was again to become a missionary Church. Besides this, the canons were revised and the Articles of Visitation were drawn up; but as yet there was no further suggestion about revision.

The question, however, had been raised elsewhere. The Commons had passed an Act of Uniformity, and had annexed to it the Prayer Book of 1604. The House of Lords had delayed to pass it, as they said that Convocation was moving in the matter. In the autumn a committee of the two Convocations was appointed to carry out the work. Charles had sent letters to both archbishops authorizing them to undertake the work. This committee met at Ely House and prepared for each day's meeting of Convocation. The bishops received the result of their work each morning, and when they had discussed it, sent it down to the Lower House. This went on through November and till the 20th of December, when they agreed to the Prayer Book as amended. Cosin, the Bishop of Durham, was the most learned liturgiologist of his day in England. He had been collecting suggestions for revision for a period of forty years. Wren, the old Bishop of Ely, had worked in the same way. Their work now bore

fruit. The two houses of Convocation discussed, amended, and accepted their suggestions and that of their committee.

The Book of Common Prayer thus amended was presented to the Houses of Parliament in the early part of 1662. The Commons contained a large majority of Royalist Churchmen. They were at present ardent supporters of the Restored King and of the National Church. Their feeling is shown by their declaration that no petition for changes in Church and State could be presented until it had been approved by three Justices of the Peace. No one was to be admitted to the House who had not received the Holy Sacrament according to the Church's rite. They had no intention to desecrate the Sacrament. Their intention was, doubtless, to admit to the House of Commons only such men as they believed to be loyal Churchmen. Such was, no doubt, the intention of those who, a few years afterwards, framed the Test Act. The result of such Acts was, however, too often a degradation of the holiest service of the Church. Such a House of Commons was not likely to wish for any change in the Prayer Book. They would desire to use that book which had been used by the late King—the martyr for the Church's cause. They were, however, induced by the Upper House to wait until the book in its amended form was presented to Parliament.

It was first brought into the Upper House, where there was no discussion. The Lords merely thanked the bishops and clergy for their labours. In April it was brought into the House of Commons. They also accepted it without discussion. But they clearly asserted their right to discuss the changes if they pleased to do so.

The Reformation Settlement was thus completed. The clergy and laity of the Church, as represented in Convocation and Parliament, accepted the English Prayer Book, which is still in use. To examine in detail the changes which were made from the days when the first complete English Service Book was issued for use on the Whitsunday of 1549 to the day when the present Service Book was accepted by Church and State, belongs to the history of the office books themselves. But the changes made were some of them so important that we cannot omit to notice them altogether.

At any rate, we ought to notice the kind of changes which were made. Many of them were merely verbal. Some were suggestions of the Puritan divines. In more important matters their demand for the use of the latest version of the Bible was complied with to a large extent. Only the Psalter and the Ten Commandments and Scripture Sentences in the Holy Communion Service are still taken from the Great Bible. What are called the 'Manual Acts' in the same service were duly specified and no longer left to tradition. The Black Rubric was restored, but the wording of it was carefully altered, so that it only could contain a warning against false ideas about the method of our Lord's Presence in the Eucharist. But many of the changes were obviously not acceptable to them. The word 'priest,' for example, was used with greater frequency. The Ornaments Rubric which, as they had suggested, ordered the use of the pre-Reformation vestments and ornaments in the English Church, was still retained. The reading of the Deutero-Canonical books of the Old Testament as Scripture lessons was continued. The Ordination services were amended and made more definite. This was done to meet the

argument of the Presbyterians, who maintained that bishop and presbyter were but one order according to Scriptural teaching. There does not seem to have been any intention to meet the objections of Roman controversialists, who argued against the validity of our orders from the services themselves.

The Presbyterians and the Puritan party were naturally disappointed at this settlement of the Church, and they looked upon themselves as duped by the King. They ought to have remembered that Charles was really unable to carry out the promises which he had made without the consent of the nation. The majority of the people had evidently no desire to consider the tender consciences of those who opposed the Church. At a later date it is possible that Baxter's suggestion about an alternative form of service might have been accepted. This, however, was not likely to be accepted at a time when Acts of Uniformity were looked upon by either party as necessities. The Act which was now passed was as rigorous as former Acts. Those who did not conform to the new Service Book by the Feast of St Bartholomew were to cease to act as ministers of the Church of England. Some who had been ordained as priests of the Church refused to accept the book because of its doctrine or ceremonial. But there were many who had not received such ordination, and who yet held benefices. These were given the opportunity of receiving ordination at the hands of the bishop, and those who did not accept this chance were to leave their benefices. It is quite true that the most conscientious men would be deprived under this arrangement, and those who could more easily change their belief would still remain in their houses and parishes.

We may deplore the loss of such men as Baxter and others who were like him. But it is difficult to see what else could have been done. There could really be no grievance in rejecting the ministry of men who would not accept what the Church accepted as valid ordination, or what she taught as the doctrine received from her Founder. The real hardship was that such men were not only ejected from their livings, but were ejected with no compensation. And their greatest grievance was that they were unable to teach what they believed to be true outside the pale of the Church. But this was not the fault of either Churchman or Puritan. It was the fault of the age. Neither side was really willing as yet to accept what we mean by Toleration.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 naturally raises the question, What was the position which the Church of England took up at the time when she made the Reformation Settlement? The revolutionary period of the Reformation had naturally produced many and various opinions on the position of the Church. But in England the preface to the Ordinal had remained unchanged, in spite of these changes in the minds of individual divines. It declared that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading the holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." "And therefore, to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereto, according

to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal consecration or ordination."

The friendly relations of many English bishops and divines with foreign Protestant and reformed communions do not seem consistent with this declaration. Their pastors were recognised by them as ministers of the Church. Why not, it may be urged, accept similar ordination in England? The ministers who had accepted Presbyterian ordination, and who were ejected in 1662, might naturally ask the question. The answer seems to be that the English Church took up the same position with regard to Ordination as she did about the Sacrament of Baptism. Episcopal ordination is necessary where it may be had. The difficulty in which English divines seem to have been placed is fairly illustrated by the position of Jeremy Taylor, one of the most learned as well as one of the most broad-minded Churchmen of the time. In his 'Episcopacy Asserted' he lets us see his difficulties, though he may not satisfactorily answer them. He asserts that Jesus Christ instituted a government for His Church. He committed this government to His Apostles with the power of joining others, and appointing successors to the Apostolate. Hence we have the necessity of Episcopacy according to the Scripture as well as the canons of the Church. Then the question about the foreign Protestants naturally arises. We approve of them because it is our interest to do so. We have a common enemy—the Papist. We English Churchmen try, therefore, to justify their position, but we did not think of the consequences of this admission in our own country. He complains that Episcopal ordination is not thought necessary in England because we did not condemn Presbyterian orders on the Con-

tinent. He therefore prefers to leave this difficult question and fall back on the example of the Early Church. Fathers and Councils of the Church condemned Presbyterian orders. The English Church is bound to follow their teaching. But he hesitates to take the next step and say—therefore the English Church condemns such orders, wherever they may be.

But he is obliged to consider the question again, and returns to it. If Germans, French, and Swiss could plead necessity, that would be an end of the matter. Taylor does not think that there was such a necessity. They might have had bishops if they had wished for them. But in France, at any rate, there was no belief in Apostolic Succession. The French Huguenots re-ordained Roman priests, who joined their body. He can only fall back on the teaching of the Primitive Church for ourselves. He cannot pass sentence on others, as it is not his business to do so. He does, however, say that martyrdom would be preferable to giving up Episcopacy in England. We are naturally perplexed at first as we read this and similar statements by English divines.

The action of Churchmen at times seems inconsistent. They might give spiritual and material help to those whom the common enemy persecuted. But when the Church came face to face with the question—as she did in 1661—Can Presbyterian orders be in any case recognized in the Church of England?—she was obliged to give an answer. The answer was in the negative. She was obliged to say that she could not use the ministry of Geneva or accept the doctrine of Calvin. This was forbidden her by the Catholic principle of the Ancient Church, to which she had always appealed.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CHURCH IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

#### PART I

THE work of Restoration which was before the Church was stupendous. It is true that the bishops and clergy had been restored to their sees and benefices. They again enjoyed the use of their own property. But to repair the ruin and havoc caused by the Civil War taxed their energies to the utmost. The cathedrals and many parish churches were in many instances in ruins. The former had suffered especially. Two only seem to have been left in decent repair. Salisbury was well cared for by the neighbouring gentry and the inhabitants of the city. Winchester was saved by the officer in command of the Parliamentary troops. He had been educated at Winchester School. St Paul's, London, had been used for cavalry barracks. It is said to have narrowly escaped destruction, and would have been pulled down altogether, but for the expense. The plate had been sold and the money used for artillery. The vestments for clergy and choir had been burned and the cross removed. A portion at the east end had been walled off and used for sermons. Lichfield, which had been besieged, was found by its bishop 'to be lying in the dust.' These are but examples of what had happened to the

majority of the mother churches of England and Wales. Organs, books, plate, and whatever was required for the worship of God had to be replaced, and vast sums of money were necessary for repairs of the fabrics.

The parish churches were not in every case in like condition. Yet there was much to be done. The report of the Archdeacon of Northumberland tells us that the fabrics of many churches were ruinous and in great decay. In many churches there were no Bibles, Prayer Books, surplices, fonts, holy tables, nor anything necessary for divine worship. Nor was this true only of churches near the Scottish border. In the east of England we are told that the churches resembled stables and thatched cottages rather than temples which serve the Most High. As far on as the reign of James II. the effect was felt in the Diocese of Chichester, when the Bishop reported that his churches were in a miserable condition. To restore, and in many cases to rebuild, the Houses of God was the first care of the restored Church of England. In most cases the bishops themselves were leaders in this work. They gave liberally of their substance.

Bishop Hacket of Lichfield stands out prominently among these as the prelate who not only gave money and timber, but personally encouraged the people to the good work by his own example. As soon as he arrived at his cathedral city he sent his own horses to help to clear away the rubbish from the ruined cathedral. The gentry and peers had in most cases been much impoverished by the war. They assisted, however, largely in the work of restoration. In some cases new churches were built. It was just when the work was well in hand that the churches in London suffered seriously from the great fire. Old St Paul's and a

large number of parish churches were destroyed. There was an appeal to Church people in all parts of England. Parliament also came to the rescue. A three-shilling duty was put on every chaldron of coal brought into the city of London. Part of this tax was used for the rebuilding of the cathedral and part for the rebuilding of the city churches.

The work of the Church was, however, much more seriously hindered by many who professed to be her children. The King's evil life was notorious. His Court was the scene of profanity and immorality. Charles was the son of the King who had died for the Church, and in the mind of the people the Church and monarchy were more closely bound together than at any previous time. The dead King had already been canonized, and was reckoned as a saint and martyr by the Church of England. A service had been appointed to be used on the anniversary of his death. New churches were dedicated to his memory. The book which was supposed to be the outpouring of his own deepest feelings, prayers, and desires for his people had been published immediately after his execution. When his son was restored, the people would especially remember the words of the '*Eikon Basilike*' which addressed the Prince of Wales. "I had rather you should be Charles le Bon than Le Grand; good than great: I hope God hath designed you to be both." "Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in your religion; the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own judgment and reason now seal to that Sacred Bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own

religion, and not other men's custome or tradition which you professe." As a last charge he required him, as his father and his King, never to suffer his heart to receive the least check in his affection for the true religion established in the Church of England. The book had been answered by Milton. In the preface to the answer we already see that the reaction was setting in. People were beginning to look upon Charles as saint and martyr. Milton's work had no effect in turning the tide back again. People were in no humour to weigh the arguments and reasonings in the two books. The harsh and unsympathetic tone of the '*Eikonoklastes*' was more likely to repel most of its readers than to convince them.

Charles the Martyr, then, was the ideal King at the Restoration. His son was doing all that he could to destroy the ideal in the people's mind and to become the real '*Eikonoklastes*.' It was soon evident that he had no love for the Church of England. He was observed to laugh during the services. His courtiers followed his example. They openly mocked the preacher when he spoke against the vice of gambling. People suspected that the King had no belief in the Christian faith, but probably he was a Romanist whenever he seriously turned his attention to matters of religion.

And yet the leaders of the Church spoke plainly. At the opening of the reign, during the Service of Thanksgiving, Sheldon—Dean of the Chapel Royal and soon to be Bishop of London—spoke plainly and directly both to the King and his people. In after years, when he was Archbishop of Canterbury, the same prelate rebuked the King for his sins, and at one time excluded him from the Lord's Table. Ken, too,

was not silent. At Winchester he refused to admit the King's mistress to his house. In one case Charles resented the rebukes of Sheldon. In the other case he rewarded Ken with a bishopric. The Dean of Wells preached plainly on the breach of the Seventh Commandment. He told his hearers that for all the pains the ladies took with their faces, they must come at last to the same end as Rosamond and Jane Shore.

It is not, then, a fair statement of facts to say that the clergy at this time "were making war on schism with so much vigour that they had little leisure to make war on vice." Lord Macaulay makes a far truer statement when he gives us the reason for the open vice and immorality of the period. "The sincere Puritans soon found themselves lost in a multitude not merely of men of the world, but of the very worst sort of men of the world. For the most notorious libertine who had fought under the royal standard might justly be thought virtuous when compared with some of those who, while they talked about sweet experience and comfortable Scriptures, lived in the constant practice of fraud, rapacity, and secret debauchery. The people, with a rashness which we may justly lament, but at which we cannot wonder, formed their estimate of the whole body from these hypocrites." Everything helped on the reaction. Poetry and the drama were most deeply infected. The English stage, under royal patronage, was most corrupt, until it was purified by the vigorous denunciations of Jeremy Collier, who was a priest as well as historian of the Church of England.

We have no reason to suppose that Charles wished to break his word or to persecute anyone for the sake of religious belief. But he was too selfish to run any risks. He had been restored by men who appeared to

be ready to do anything which he wished. There was one thing, however, which his most devoted adherents were unwilling to do. They were unwilling to tolerate men whose religion they believed to be a danger to the State as well as the Church. Hence they determined to deal with Puritan Nonconformists in their own way. They were quite ready to disregard even the wishes of the King.

The Act of Uniformity had been passed, and those who were unwilling to conform had been ejected. Those who would not conform to the Church's laws could not honestly retain their benefices or minister to the members of the Church. Charles had also used his royal authority in Church matters. Preachers had been admonished not to stir up strife by meddling with such deep matters as the doctrine of predestination. Another proclamation informed people that the statute which imposed a fine of one shilling for not attending church would be enforced. This, however, was not enough for the House of Commons. They looked upon dissent from the Church as a political danger. This view must be taken as the key to the legislation which—from a modern point of view—is such a blot upon this reign. We now naturally urge that men should be allowed to worship God according to their own conscience. Very few Englishmen of the reign of Charles II., whatever their belief, would have allowed any such liberty.

Thus it was that in 1664 the first Conventicle Act was passed. By this Act those who were present at a service, which was not a service of the Church, were liable to fine and imprisonment. If convicted a third time, they were liable to transportation. Two years after this the Five Mile Act was passed. It contained

no religious test. It was a purely political Act. All ministers of religion who would not subscribe to the Act of Uniformity were to take an oath that it was unlawful to bear arms against the King, and that they would not endeavour to change the Government in Church and State. Those who refused to take this oath were not to come within five miles of any town in which they had ministered, a town governed by a corporation, or represented in Parliament. It was a political Act in the same sense as the Corporation Act, which had been already passed in 1664. By that all officers of corporations were to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. They were also to swear that they looked upon resistance to the King's authority as in any case unlawful.

The Justices of the Peace who had suffered at the hands of their enemies in the Civil War and under the Government of Cromwell were not likely to administer these Acts with much lenity or mercy. The consequence was that the prisons were soon full of those who had attended Nonconformist services. It would have been of little use for the clergy to have protested against this legislation. Those who tried to oppose these Acts in Parliament—such as Earle, the Bishop of Salisbury—did so in vain. Many, however, of the bishops treated their dissenting brethren with kindness. They were at the time unable to do more.

Charles himself spoke in favour of toleration, but the Commons were utterly opposed to any such measure. Proposals were made to bring about the comprehension of such men as Baxter, and to tolerate Independents. Parliament would hear of no scheme for comprehension or toleration. On the contrary, they wished for the laws to be more stringently executed. They passed

in 1670 a second Conventicle Act, which enforced a more thorough search for Dissenters, though the penalties for Nonconformity were not quite so severe.

Charles, however, watched his opportunity to carry out his own views about toleration. Severe Acts might have been passed in Parliament, but he thought that he might dispense with those Acts. A change of Ministry gave him the chance of attempting to do what he wished. Clarendon, the Minister of the Restoration, had fallen and was in exile. His place was taken by the 'Cabal'—a Cabinet of five Ministers. None of them were friendly to the Church of England. Clifford was a Romanist. Arlington was desirous to become one. Buckingham and Ashley were patrons of Puritanism, though vicious and immoral in their lives. Lauderdale was a Presbyterian. In 1670 Charles made his secret treaty with the King of France. He promised to declare himself a Roman Catholic, to assist France by sea and land, and to support the House of Bourbon in Spain. In return for this he was to receive a subsidy from Louis XIV. Henceforth the King of England became a pensioner of the King of France. We can understand why Charles was anxious for toleration. He was sure that he could not claim toleration for Romanists by themselves. He would, therefore, use his royal prerogative to dispense with the penal laws which oppressed Romanist and Protestant Dissenters alike. Thus it was that in 1672, two years after the secret treaty with France, that he issued the First Declaration of Indulgence.

It might appear to us now as a fair and satisfactory way out of a great difficulty. The Act of Uniformity would still be in force for all Church people. Those who dissented from the Church were to worship God

in their own fashion. Protestants might worship in public. Romanists might worship in private. This would be probably the safest thing for them and their personal comfort at this period, when the public celebration of the Latin Mass might have provoked a riot. But Church people would have no such Indulgence. The Royalist Parliament opposed the King's policy with as much vigour as the Long Parliament had opposed his father's. They pointed out that "no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any of your majesty's predecessors; and, if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting the free course of the laws, and altering the legislative powers, which have always been acknowledged to reside in your Majesty and in your two Houses of Parliament." A large number of those who were suffering from the religious legislation of the reign were equally opposed to the Indulgence. By this time the terms of the secret treaty were suspected, although nothing was known for certain. Protestant Nonconformists were unwilling to share in the benefits of an Indulgence, which would be also a benefit to Romanists. They also were bitterly opposed to what they believed might increase the royal prerogative.

As a matter of fact, it is not so certain that Parliament was right, for sovereigns had at times suspended penal laws. Judges had recognized this right, and Parliament had raised no objection. But the political position of the King before and after the Civil War was no longer the same. Charles himself was acute enough to recognize this. He had made an attempt to carry out his promise both to the King of France and also to his nonconforming subjects. He was unwilling to do more, as he had not the slightest intention of risking

his own security for the sake of either. He had no desire (as he put it) to go on his travels again. Yet the policy which he initiated was not given up. It was the key to the Church history of the reign of his brother, James II.

The answer to the King's Declaration was the Test Act. The Sacrament of the Altar was to be again degraded by those who professed to be the most loyal Churchmen. It remained upon the statute book till 1829. By it everyone who was to be admitted to any public office was to receive the Holy Communion in public according to the rites of the Church of England. At the same time they were to abjure the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and declare that in the Sacrament after Consecration there is the substance of bread and wine. The Act was chiefly directed against Romanism. James, the Duke of York, had been for some time an avowed Romanist, and had given up attending the English service.

The Protestant Dissenters wished the Bill to become law, as they feared and suspected Papists. They also had hopes that Parliament might pass a Bill to benefit themselves. The result was that for a century and a half there were men who came to communicate, not for any spiritual benefit, but to qualify for the office of a mayor of a town or colonel of a regiment. The Test Act, however, continued to be looked upon as a bulwark of the English Church by the majority of Churchmen. They were thoroughly alarmed at the danger from Rome. And the most staunch Churchmen had as little inclination to submit to the Pope as the most violent Puritan.

Reaction was sure to set in after the enthusiasm of the Restoration, and everything had helped on the tide of reaction. The plague and the fire—the defeats of

the English navy by the Dutch and the French alliance—the waste of money by the King—had all weakened the support of his friends, and had given courage and hope to the opposition. There was now that suspicion in the air which is the most dangerous thing in the minds of the English people. Everything was ready for an outbreak of some kind. It took the form of a panic. The murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey—the stories of Oates and Dangerfield—the ‘Popish Plot’—need only to be mentioned to remind us of the critical times through which England was passing. The stories of Oates were ridiculous enough. But most men believed them. The pulpits of the Church rang with the denunciations of Roman doctrines and Popish errors. And worse than all, innocent blood was shed. Roman Catholics who were absolutely guiltless of any crime against Church or State were put to death. Unfortunately, the Church suffered from this discreditable panic. A new test was imposed on all Members of Parliament, and all officials about the King’s person. For some reason, Transubstantiation was not considered a sufficient test of Roman doctrine. It was now also necessary to declare that the worship of the Virgin and saints, as practised in the Church of Rome, was idolatrous. Evelyn speaks of it as an Act which would exclude Roman Catholic peers from Parliament for ever. He also tells us how he and Sir W. Godolphin discussed the words of the test with Gunning, the Bishop of Ely, one of the best theologians among the English prelates. Evidently both Evelyn and his friend, as well as many Churchmen, objected to the wording of the test. Gunning, who had spoken against it in the House of Lords, could only say that he wished that it had been otherwise worded. It was

a proof that some men had kept their heads in these days of panic and excitement.

But the person who was the chief object of this legislation was excluded from it. This was James himself. Nothing would therefore satisfy the extreme Protestant party but his exclusion from the throne of England. They urged that, if he succeeded, the civil freedom of the country and the Church would be in danger. Events proved afterwards that they judged rightly. Sancroft, who had become Primate of all England shortly before the days of the 'Popish Plot,' had tried in vain to bring him back to the English Church. James, however, was a convinced and ardent Romanist. His first wife had died in communion with Rome. His second wife was an Italian princess. His children, however, Mary and Ann, had been brought up as members of the Church of England..

It was just when the exclusion of James from the throne seemed most likely that his enemies made a fatal mistake. The Puritan element of the exclusionist party wished to put forward the Duke of Monmouth as heir to the throne. He was the King's illegitimate son, and was at the height of his popularity. His followers professed to believe that Charles had married his mother.

Macaulay points out that the same mistake was now made as was made in the days of Queen Mary. Then Lady Jane Grey was put forward, and Elizabeth's claims were passed over. Now the claims of Mary and Anne, both members of the English Church, were passed over in favour of Monmouth.

A large number of Churchmen deserted the exclusionist party, and rallied to the side of the throne. Charles had bravely supported his brother through

the whole of this stormy period. The consequence was that the King again found on his side the old Cavalier party, the Churchmen, and all moderate men. Charles did as he pleased for the last year of his reign, and his brother succeeded to the throne. James was able to do this chiefly because the clergy and laity of the Church supported his claims.

In 1685 the King died. The Primate and other bishops were at his bedside. They spoke earnestly, and exhorted him to repent of his former sins. He seems to have made a general confession to them, and to have received their absolution. He refused, however, to receive the Eucharist at their hands. But before his death, Huddleston, a Roman priest, who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester, was admitted to the sick room, and administered the sacraments of Unction and Holy Communion. It was but a few years before this—when the excitement about the Exclusion Bill was at its height—that Charles had, at Sancroft's advice, publicly declared “his affection to the Protestant religion as established by law.”

## PART II

We turn from the political history of the Church to her inner life, from the disputation of divines in conferences and the Acts of Uniformity to the religious life of clergy and people. We, therefore, naturally have to enquire how the Prayer Book and its rules for the worship of God were obeyed by those who professed to value them so highly. How did the worship and devotional life of the Church of England during this period resemble the worship and life of the Primitive Church, to which her Divines always appealed in their controversy with the Roman Catholic or Puritan?

The Eucharist had been the chief service on each Lord's Day from the days of the Apostles, and had continued to hold this position to the days of the Reformation. It was true that abuses had crept into the service. It had been the object of the sixteenth-century Reformers in England to restore more frequent communion. They contemplated at least Sunday and holy day celebrations of the Eucharist. But when their system was put into practice, the results were very different from what they had intended. The best of the clergy and spiritually-minded men, such as George Herbert, did not celebrate on each Sunday. A monthly celebration seems to have been as much as he could hope for. At least he desires to see in country parishes Holy Communion at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, at the beginning of Lent, and before and after Harvest. Laud's reforms had secured the position of the Holy Table at the east end of the church. But the service of the altar was itself terribly neglected.

Much the same state of things prevailed after the Restoration: only in some of the cathedrals were the plain directions about a weekly communion observed. Dennis Grenville, afterwards Dean of Durham, tried to remove the reproach from the Church of England that her rubrics were widely disobeyed—that she was, in fact, only ‘a Church on paper.’ He succeeded in restoring the weekly communion in Durham Cathedral. But it was obviously a difficult task. Dean Comber thought that a monthly celebration was as much as could be restored in twenty years in the mother churches. Sancroft required that the rubric should be observed in his province. But his injunctions were not submissively obeyed. Deans tried to evade both rubric and injunction.

When such was the condition of the cathedral worship, we are not surprised that the customs of parish churches were very unequal. Good parish priests of this time, such as George Bull, only celebrated seven times in the year. And this was more frequently than was the case in the majority of village churches. Granville could only at first insist upon his curates administering the Blessed Sacrament on four festivals and five other times in the year. Afterwards a monthly communion became the rule in the churches under his charge. And this probably represents the rule of the majority of the churches where the service was conducted with reverence and decency. It is not difficult to find evidence of a much worse state of things. The Bishop of Bristol could report of a village where there had been no celebration of the Eucharist throughout Charles the Second's reign, and in a parish in the Ely Diocese the service was performed only twice in the year. Sancroft enjoined that in the greater towns there should be monthly communion, and in smaller towns 'if they can procure communicants.' The last words probably give us the reason for this unsatisfactory state of things. The rubrics which deal with the number of communicants at the end of the service in the Book of Common Prayer seem to have been inserted with the intention that a fifth of the communicants in each parish should receive on each occasion. Such rules were drawn up with a view to more frequent communion. The result was exactly the opposite. The majority of people communicated as usual at festivals. The service itself was performed less frequently—in fact, only when a large number of communicants were expected to be present.

The Daily Offices were, on the other hand, said in a

large number of churches throughout England. This was especially true of London and other large towns. The Bishop of Ely begs the country clergy not to neglect the rule of Daily Service, even if only a few of the laity came to take part in the services with them. The devotional writers of the day advise the more faithful Church people to attend Mattins and Evensong on week-days. We are fortunate in having a table of services which gives us information about the hours of service in London churches in the early part of William III.'s reign. It will probably be mainly true of the period from the Restoration to the days of the first Georges. Robert Midgley, who drew it up, saw that "Satan drew large numbers of people to his Chirches the Theatres by dispersing their Bills," and he would therefore try to counteract this by advertising the Church's services. He tells us that he spared no pains for the certainty of his own information. From his list we gather that 1 church had four, 7 had three, 41 had two, and 36 had one service each day. The Eucharist in London, as elsewhere, was not so frequent. But by this time 8 churches had a weekly celebration, 2 thrice in the month, 2 had twice, and the others once in the month. The times of the services are also instructive. In two churches there were celebrations at 6 A.M., in two at 7 A.M., and in one at 8 A.M. Noon, however, seems to have been the regular hour. Sermons and lectures were also preached as early as 6 and 7 in the morning, though most of them were later in the morning and a few in the afternoon. There were no evening services at the hours of the present day. The ordinary hour for morning and evening service was 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. The earlier hours seem to have been for the benefit of servants

and those people who could not attend at the usual hours.

Lent was well observed by Church people. Two corporations could command butchers not to dress or sell meat in Lent. Bishops granted dispensations to those who could not eat fish throughout the fast. Rogation-days were also kept with a certain amount of religious observance. Private confession was still practised. Ken in his Manual for Winchester Scholars advises a boy "to go to one of his superiors to be his spiritual guide." He is not to be ashamed to unburthen his soul freely to him, that besides his ghostly counsel he may receive the benefit of absolution. "Confession to our spiritual guide is by many devout souls found to be very advantageous to true repentance," says this saint of the English Church. The bishops frequently enquired in their visitation articles whether the 113th canon of 1604 was observed. This meant, did the clergy who heard confessions observe the rule of secrecy which the canon required. The canons of 1604 were the rules which were to be observed in the Church. The reign of James I. was, as we saw, the time when it was felt that the English Church must enforce her discipline. When, then, the Church was restored, the bishops attempted to restore her discipline, but it seems that they never succeeded in doing so to any large extent.

Yet the light which their visitations throw on the history of the Church is valuable. Through them we naturally learn where the Church's worship and discipline was most defective. For example, Ken's visitation in the diocese of Bath and Wells tells a sad story of neglect in many churches in the west of England. No decent chalice could be found in some churches. In others the altar was not in the chancel, nor were there

in some churches surplices, or a Bible of King James's version, or a Prayer Book of the last revision. There was in some parishes no catechizing, in others no visitation of the sick, and sometimes the surplice was not used, even in administration of the sacraments. No sermons were preached in some churches, and in many parishes there was no resident clergyman.

The attempt at uniformity—even at decency—had plainly failed in many parishes. The Churchmen who desired a ritual which should be at least reverent and devout, were content with wearing a cope in cathedrals and collegiate churches and a surplice in parish churches. There does not seem to be any evidence that the other vestments which are enjoined in the Prayer Book rubric were used. Men knew that they were enjoined, but at a time when even a surplice was not everywhere worn it would have been difficult to restore them. Altar lights were used in cathedrals, college, and bishops' chapels and some parish churches. Incense was used in some places before the service began. Evelyn tells us how he attended the Chapel Royal at Whitehall on Easter Day, and adds, "there was perfume burnt before the office began." This seems to have been the custom in parish churches as well as cathedrals. At Ely, however, it was used during the divine service. Bowing towards the altar was common everywhere. The Bishop of Hereford, who wished to give up any ceremonial which might offend the Puritans, desired to see it given up. He would also have given up the use of the surplice, kneeling at the Holy Communion, and the sign of the Cross, with the same object.

Devout members of the Church must always have a high ideal. During the time of the Commonwealth such men had worked and prayed for the restoration of

the Church. But her restoration in 1660 was by no means complete. The clergy were to be restored to their benefices. The Church's buildings and property were to be restored to their rightful owners. In theory and by law the worship of the Church was restored; but in fact this restoration was by no means complete. We see something of this in a book, which was probably Ken's work, and which was first published in 1663 under the title of 'Ichabod,' and then under the title of 'Expostulatoria' after his death. There we hear of the complaints of the unfitness of the men who received holy orders, of simony, of pluralities, and of non-residence. There is a statement at the end of the book that out of 12,000 benefices 3000 were inappropriate, while over 4000 suffered from non-resident incumbents.

Such facts are enough to explain why there was so much irregularity and want of spiritual life, why there were such irreverent and disorderly services in various parts of the country. There is, of course, a brighter side of the picture. We can with truth assert that the Church of England contained at the time a large number of very learned scholars and very eloquent preachers. It was the age of Bishop Pearson, Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Bull—whose defence of the Nicene Creed was received with gratitude by a Synod of the Gallican clergy—Stillingfleet, Barrow, Beveridge, and South—to mention but a few names of great theologians and preachers. It was a time when preachers had a great influence. Sermons were listened to with attention and interest. Barrow could preach for three hours and a half before the Lord Mayor of London. Ken attracted crowds of people. When South preached, the congregation laughed and applauded his wit as in the days of St Chrysostom. The sermons of great preachers paid

both the publisher and author. For example, the copyright of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons was sold for 2500 guineas after his death.

The teaching of the great divines of this period was very much on the same lines as that of the school of Andrewes and Laud. It was a time of much controversy. The Church of England divines were obliged to defend her position against Romanists as well as Puritans. Bishop Sanderson had drawn up the preface to the Revision of the Prayer Book at the Restoration. It had been sanctioned by Convocation and Parliament. The Church of England then declared to the world at large that she had rejected sundry alterations which had been proposed. She also gave her reasons. These changes secretly struck at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the Church of England, or, indeed, of the whole Catholic Church of Christ. This was what the representative divines at the time said—whether they were men of the type of Hammond, Thorndike, or Bramhall, or whether they were of the broader school of Jeremy Taylor. Bramhall's works give us a fair idea of the teaching of the great scholar and great divine of the Church at the time of the Restoration and during the rest of the Stewart period. He was obliged to be in constant controversy with Roman and Puritan divines. He deals with the former in the following fashion. In his answer to M. de la Milletierre he proposes to the Romanists that they should waive their determinations of the last four hundred years—or if they wished to observe them themselves yet not to obtrude them upon other parts of the Church. He adds that if they could be satisfied with the old patriarchal power of the Roman See and their 'principium unitatis,' or primacy of order, much good might come from free councils and confer-

ences of moderate divines. We might then live to see East and West join hand in hand and sing : "Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." But while Rome imposes upon us daily new Articles of Faith, there can be no prospect of such unity. The Church of England (he goes on to assert) "proposes all due obedience and submission to the judgment and definitions of the truly Catholic Church, lamenting with all our hearts the present condition of Christendom, which renders an *Œcumical Council*, if not impossible, yet very difficult; wishing one, as general as might be; and (until God send such opportunity) endeavouring to conform ourselves in all things, both in belief and practice, in the doctrine and discipline of the Universal Church; and lastly, holding an actual communion with all the divided parts of the Christian world in most things, *et in voto*—according to our desires—in all things."

In another work—his reply to the titular Bishop of Chalcedon—he clears the English Church of schism. The Church of England is not a new Church. She is the old Catholic Church of England, but reformed. "We have set up no new chairs, no new altars, nor new successions, but continued those which were from the beginning. There is a vast difference between the erecting of a chair against a chair or an altar against an altar, which we have not done, and the repairing of a church or an altar wherein it was decayed, which we were obliged to do." He takes up, too, the same position with regard to the Roman See as did Andrewes and James I., Laud and Charles I. "We have separated ourselves from the Church of Rome only in those things wherein she had first separated herself from the ancient Roman Church; in all other things we maintain com-

munion with her. We are ready to yield to the Pope all that respect which is due to the bishop of an Apostolical Church and whatsoever external honour the Fathers did think fit to cast upon that See, if he would content himself therewith." When his antagonist comes to the main point and asks what is the Catholic Church? he replies—not the Roman. That is but a part. The old Churches of the East must be included. This question, after all, he feels to be the sum and substance of the whole controversy. Rome and England both appeal to the Catholic Church and antiquity. But they cannot agree as to what the Catholic Church is. "If he stand on this ground there are no more controversies between him and me for the future but this one, What is the true Catholic Church?"

Bramhall would willingly call all men 'Protestants' who opposed the great spiritual monarchy of the Pope. Eastern Christians and Abyssinians are substantially 'Protestants' as well as we. He would even apply the term to the opponents of the Roman Curia at the Councils of Constance and Basle. He would find 'Protestants' in communion with the Roman See of his own time. "To seek to obtrude this spiritual monarchy upon us was causal schism; to excommunicate us for denying it was actual schism." Bramhall and the greatest divines of the period who defended the position of the Church of England saw that it was not so much differences about the Sacraments—or about such matters as Invocation of Saints and Purgatory—which kept the two portions of the Catholic Church apart. The crucial question was—and has remained so ever since—the "spiritual monarchy" of the Roman Pontiff.

Bramhall's language was exceedingly moderate. He would not accuse his Roman brethren of idolatry. His

words might have been studied with advantage by those who drew up the Declaration of 1678. His works, which are full of historical and theological learning, range over the whole controversy, and his defence of English Orders will well repay the study of members of the Church of the twentieth century.

The social position and influence of the clergy during the seventeenth century has given rise to much controversy. Books and pamphlets were written on the subject during that period. They would in all probability have been quite forgotten but for Lord Macaulay's description of the clergy in the third chapter of his History of England. There he uses these accounts of contemporary writers. He tells us how the clergy were mainly drawn from the lower orders of society—what hardships they endured—how they were inferior to men of other professions—and how little they read and how ignorant the majority of them were. They were unable to obtain books because of their poverty. Their wives had generally been servants or waiting-maids. Their children followed the plough or went into service.

The London clergy, he allows, were men of a different stamp. They were learned and more liberal in their views. But the country clergy were especially intolerant, and were in politics bigoted Tories. "Whatever influence his office gave him was exerted with passionate zeal on the Tory side; and that influence was immense."

Churchill Babington, a Fellow of St John's, Cambridge, published a careful examination of Macaulay's description of the English clergy in the seventeenth century, and the result of this work is thus summed up by Dean Luckock. Macaulay's account "would

be a perfectly true picture if it had been made to represent the exception and not the rule." Babington examines the authorities upon which this historian grounds his statements. Eachard's 'grounds and occasions of contempt of the clergy and religion enquired into' is his chief authority. It is one which deserves consideration. For the author who was Master of St Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, wished to benefit his less fortunate brethren by its publication. Want of means and want of learning, he urged, generally go together. He wished to see the stipends of the poorer clergy largely increased. But his book is full of caricatures, although he wishes his readers to understand that he thus is describing the few and not the many.

Oldham and Ward wrote with the purpose of pouring contempt upon the clergy. The play writers of the time whom Macaulay quotes did the same, knowing that their royal patron would raise no objection to their holding up the priesthood to ridicule. As a matter of fact, Babington proves there were a fair number of men of noble blood in holy orders at the time, and most of the families of the gentry had clergymen among their number. The children of the clergy, we are told by the preacher of the sermon on behalf of the Sons of the Clergy Corporation in 1678, "were scattered among all the professions."

It is quite true that the poverty of the clergy was a question which was before the country, as it is in our own day. The livings were small in many cases. Swift tells us that the average income of a vicar was £40 a year. Other authorities lead us to the same conclusion. We must, of course, make allowance for the difference in value of money. Another reason for

the poverty of many clergy was this. The supply was greater than the demand. Over thirty men in holy orders, for example, were living in the parish of St Martin in the Fields, London, when Dr Tenison was rector. These men could find little or nothing to do. But when we come to consider the question of the ignorance of the clergy we must acquit them of the charge. Bishop Atterbury remarks that, for depth of learning as for other things, the English clergy are not to be paralleled in the whole of Christendom. Burnet, who was no friend of the English clergy, says much the same thing. He also tells us that learning was high at the universities in the days of Charles II., and this was at a time when each clergyman was obliged to have a university degree. Much literary work was done in country parishes. Beveridge and Patrick, whom Macaulay numbers among the flower of the London clergy, produced some of their works in country parsonages. So did others, such as Comber, Kettlewell, and the learned Bingham. We must also remember that the education of the upper classes was largely in the hands of clergymen.

We should, therefore, conclude that the position and influence of the clergy, as a whole, were far greater than at any period subsequent to the accession of the House of Hanover. Macaulay allows that James II. was allowed to succeed his brother chiefly owing to their influence. "Of all the causes which, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, produced the violent reaction against the Exclusionists, the most potent seems to have been the oratory of the country clergy." We shall now proceed to examine how that King repaid the clergy of the Church of England for their devotion and service to his cause.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES II

JAMES II. ascended the throne with the support of the majority of the nation. His enemies had been for the time utterly crushed. The clergy and the old Cavalier party had remained faithful and the nation had rallied to his side. Everything seemed, therefore, to promise well. On the day of his accession he made a speech to his Privy Council. He repudiated the notion that he was desirous to rule as an absolute monarch, and promised to maintain the Government both in Church and State as by law established. He would take care to defend and support the Church of England, but would never give up his own just rights as King; nor, on the other hand, would he invade any man's property. The King's speech was not carefully written and prepared as it would be to-day. But his councillors desired that it should be printed and published. The Solicitor-General, Heneage Finch, offered to write it down. He said that he could remember it word for word, as it had made such a great impression upon him. James allowed him to do so, read it, and gave orders for its publication. Churchmen everywhere received it with joy and enthusiasm. On the following Sunday the clergy quoted it in their sermons. "We have now

for our Church the word of a King and of a King who was never worse than his word," said one preacher. "It ought to be written in letters of gold," said another. The King was declared to be a most tender nursing father to the Church and people of England, in the address which was sent from the clergy of Ken's Diocese of Bath and Wells.

At the same time, they represented the feeling of the nation at large when they let the King know that their loyalty to his person was largely bound up with their loyalty to the Church. They specially laid stress on the promise which he had made to protect their religion—"the greatest concern we have in this world."

The history of this brief reign is one of the greatest importance, and its politics and religion are closely connected. The King's character and his policy makes this obvious from the first days of his reign. He had probably no wish to make himself an absolute King. He was quite sincere when he said that "the laws of England had made the King as great a monarch as he could desire." But he used what he believed his lawful prerogative for the sake of his own religion. The story of his reign is the story of an attempt to win back England to its obedience to the See of Rome. James was a convinced and sincere Romanist. He desired that all his subjects should believe as he did. He thought that he might reckon on the support of those who proclaimed their loyalty and who professed to believe in the doctrine of passive obedience. He soon found out that he had mistaken what this really meant. There were Churchmen who were as earnest and convinced as he was. They were ready to serve him and his house. But there was one thing which they speedily showed him was of more concern to them

than the fortunes of the House of Stewart—and that was the well-being of the Church of England.

His first acts were not calculated to inspire complete confidence in his promises. He had hitherto attended his own worship in private. Now the door of his chapel was left open during the service, which thus became a public one. Nor was this all. The service on Easter Day was intended to be a State ceremony. The officers of State were to be present. The guards were drawn out and the Knights of the Garter wore their collars. The King, however, was reminded that he could not compel them to attend. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the Sword of State, stopped at the door. "My lord, your father would have gone further," said James. "Your Majesty's father would not have gone so far," was the Duke's reply.

The King could not attend the Chapel Royal to hear the Lent preachers. Instead of this, clergy of his own faith preached in a pulpit which was set up in the palace. "To my grieve," says Evelyn, "I saw the new pulpit set up in the popish oratorie at White-hall for the Lent preaching."

The coronation was fixed for St George's Day, which on that year fell on the Thursday in Easter week. It was a magnificent ceremony. "But," says Evelyn, "there was no sacrament to the great sorrow of the people." It was not a good omen that James was the first King since John who did not receive the Holy Communion at the coronation. But this would have been impossible. The King could not have received it from the hands of bishops who were at the best schismatics. Nor was the ceremony of the presentation of the English version of the Bible performed. But he received the Sacred Unction from

the hands of the Primate, Sancroft. He made his oblation at the altar and apparently joined in the service. But in order to do this he had to receive special permission from the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

But the minds of his subjects were speedily diverted from these things by the rebellion in the West. A double attack was made on the new King. Argyle landed in Scotland, was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed. The Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis within two months of the coronation. He put himself forward as the true defender of the Church, and the champion of the Protestant religion against Popery. But the Church of England threw all her power and influence into the scale against him. "Rebellion," she said, "was as the sin of witchcraft."

The King had renewed his promises to defend the Church in a declaration to the newly elected Parliament. Churchmen, too, could remember that Monmouth's real supporters were those who in the days of their triumph had driven the clergy from their benefices, had sacked cathedrals and churches, and had forbidden the use of the liturgy. They remembered that when the Duke had visited Chester, some three years before the late King's death, a Puritan mob had tried to win his approval by smashing the cathedral windows, desecrating the building, and destroying the vestments of the clergy. His followers were ready to do the same thing in the West. The roof of Wells Cathedral was stripped for its lead, and the building was again damaged. Puritan preachers were chaplains in his army. Monmouth was presented with a Bible

<sup>1</sup> James and his Queen are said to have been first privately crowned and anointed with oil, sent over from Rheims, by a Roman priest.—TAUNTON'S *Hist. of Jesuits in England*.

at Taunton, and professed that he came to defend the truths contained in the sacred volume, and to seal them, if it must be so, with his own blood. The rebellion was soon over. The unfortunate farmers, shopkeepers, and peasants of Somerset who had joined Monmouth's standard were punished with terrible rigour.

Ken, who was their chief pastor, did his best to mitigate their sufferings. He and Turner, the Bishop of Ely, visited Monmouth in prison. They did not feel justified in administering to him the Blessed Sacrament, as he would give no sure sign of penitence either for his rebellion or for his adulterous connexion with Lady Wentworth.

James now felt perfectly safe. The way, he thought, was quite clear for him, and he could carry out the project which was nearest to his heart—the conversion of England to Rome.

If, however, he was to succeed in this, the Test Act, which was considered by most of his subjects to be the chief defence of their religion, must be got rid of. Parliament, however, would not repeal it. He would, therefore, only use what he considered to be part of his lawful prerogative and dispense with the Act. He had already appointed Roman Catholic officers for the regiments which had been raised to put down the rebellion in the West. This, perhaps, was a necessity in time of danger; but James did not intend it to be exceptional, it was a part of his policy.

When Parliament met, he told them that he could not be deprived of men whose services he needed in the State because of their religion. No Parliament had ever been more loyal or more submissive, yet it protested against his action. In the Upper House the opposition spread to the Bench of Bishops. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, declared that he spoke

the mind of his brethren when he said that the action of the Government had imperilled Church and State. Compton was a man of noble family. He was the son of the Earl of Northampton, who had fallen fighting for James's father, and himself had served in the army before his ordination. He had been tutor to the daughters of the King, Mary and Anne, and had educated them in the principles of the Church of England. The result of his opposition was that he was deprived of his post as Dean of the Chapel Royal, and his name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors.

James prorogued Parliament. He had made up his mind to get a legal decision in his favour, and told Jones, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, that he was determined to have twelve judges who would be of his mind in this matter. "Your majesty," answered the Chief Justice, "may find twelve judges, but hardly twelve lawyers." Six judges who were likely to oppose James were removed. Finch, the Solicitor-General, was dismissed, as he refused to defend the King's claim to dispense with the laws.

The Attorney-General would have been dismissed if a successor could have been found. Men who promised to comply with the King's wishes were raised to the Bench. Powis was appointed Solicitor-General for the same reason.

A collusive suit was now brought before a packed Bench. Sir Edward Hales, a Romanist, had commanded a regiment of foot. He had held his commission for more than three months and had not communicated in church. He was liable to a fine of £500, which any informer might recover. A servant named Godden brought the suit against him. Hales

pleaded that he had letters patent which authorized him to hold his commission in spite of the law. The Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Herbert, gave his decision in favour of Hales. The laws, he argued, were the King's laws. It was part of the royal prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases. The Crown was the sole judge in the particular case.

The results of this trial was of far-reaching importance for the Church. James was not likely to use it sparingly. Four Romanist peers were appointed to be Privy Councillors. They, however, represented two different parties among James's own co-religionists. Powis and Belasyse were for moderate measures; Arundel and Dover were for extreme measures. The King's projects were consequently thwarted, not only by his natural opponents, but even by a party among the Romanists themselves.

Charles II. had been content to receive French gold. He was a pensioner of Louis XIV., who had consequently nothing to fear from England. The French King thus became the dominant power in Europe, an equal object of fear and jealousy both to Romanist and Protestant powers on the Continent. He was, moreover, not on friendly terms with the Pope, Innocent XI. The powerful Order of Jesus looked to Louis for support rather than to Innocent.

James was also a pensioner. But he was not so submissive as his brother. At times he used threatening language, and it seemed as if he might break off with France altogether. There were two influences at work at his Court.

There was the Papal Nuncio, who had been received at Windsor with great splendour. He represented the views of Innocent, who judged that the interests of the

Roman Church would be best served by a moderate policy. This view was also supported by the best of the English Romanists, who were led by Lord Powis. But the Order of Jesus also had their representative in Father Petre, an Englishman of good family. "Of all the evil councillors who had access to the royal ear, he bore perhaps the largest part in the ruin of the House of Stewart." But his counsel suited the King's temperament. Matters came to a crisis through his presence at the English Court. The domestic policy of the French king had also a large influence on the fortunes of the English Church. The discussions about the Test Act and the royal prerogative might be limited to a minority of the people. But the action of Louis stirred for the time the passions of the whole nation.

The religious wars of France had ended in the days of Cardinal Richelieu. The Huguenot power endangered the power of the French Crown. Richelieu was determined to have but one power in the kingdom. But he had no objection to the Huguenots worshipping God after their own conscience. The Edict of Nantes had granted to them this privilege in 1598. It had been confirmed by Richelieu. Louis XIV. now reversed this policy. From the beginning of his reign the 'reformed' of France had suffered persecution. Now in the first year of James' reign the Edict of Nantes was revoked altogether. Evelyn tells us what was the opinion in England. "The French persecution of the Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity exceeded even what the very heathens used: innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance and hardly escaping with their lives, dispersed through all the countries of Europe."

But the *English Gazette*, he remarked, which tells us twice a week what is going on all over Europe, tells us nothing about this. It was extraordinary that we knew nothing of their sufferings, "whilst great collections were made for them in forreine places more hospitable and Christian in appearance." The English people were not, however, guilty of inhospitality. James at first declared that he highly disapproved of Louis' policy. He issued letters patent inviting his subjects to assist the refugees, and contributed fifteen hundred pounds from his own privy purse. It was at one of those moments when he wished to prove to the world that he was not a slave of France. The English bishops wrote letters to the clergy of their dioceses urging them to stir up their parishioners to respond liberally. Bishop Ken contributed the sum of £4000.

But within a year James had changed his policy, as Louis's alliance was now a necessity. He recalled his declaration about the Huguenots, which was couched in terms of sympathy. A book, which had been written by Claude, a leading minister of the 'Reformed,' describing the persecution, was burned as a libel. The Archbishop of Canterbury was bidden to inform the clergy that they must not preach on behalf of the sufferers, but merely read the King's Brief. The King was vexed at the liberal response, for £40,000 was collected. As a result of his vexation he put forth the most outrageous command of all. No Huguenot was to receive any benefit from this fund unless he communicated in the Church of England. James, who was determined to dispense with the Test Act for Englishmen, insisted upon the same test being applied to Calvinists, many of whom looked upon the Church

of England with only little more favour than they did upon the Church of Rome.

The King's commands about preaching were largely disregarded by the clergy. The Romanist divines at Whitehall had stirred up the spirit of controversy. The King himself had done the same. He had published the papers, which were said to have been found in a strong box of Charles II., giving the reasons why that monarch had preferred the Church of Rome to the English Church. They were printed and often distributed by the King himself. It was natural that the English clergy should not be silent. They were willing to obey the King in all things lawful. There was one thing, however, more precious to them than the wishes or commands of a king, and that was the Church of England, whose position they were bound as honest men to defend as long as they ministered in her pulpits.

They were obliged to protect their flocks from the 'evening wolves,' as the Roman priests were called by Bishop Ken. The King soon recognised the quarter whence he might expect the strongest opposition. The Church of England should, therefore, be rendered powerless. To do this the King revived the Court of High Commission. It was to be the means by which bishops and clergy were to be kept in order and silenced. All men who were not devoted to the cause of France and of the Jesuits looked upon this as a direct violation of the laws. English Churchmen saw in it, of course, a direct attack upon themselves.

The King had issued orders, as Supreme Ordinary of the Church, that the clergy should not preach on doctrinal differences. To do so became a penal offence. He thus used the royal supremacy as

Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Charles I. had used it. But in his case it was the command of a Romanist prince who was bent upon weakening and, if possible, destroying the Institution of which he was Supreme Governor, and which he had solemnly promised to protect and defend.

The Master of the Temple, Sherlock, disobeyed the Royal Injunction and was punished. Sharp, the Rector of St Giles in the Fields, was asked by a parishioner how he was to defend himself against the arguments of Roman divines. On the next Sunday Sharp replied to the demand by a sermon against the claims of Rome. Compton, the Bishop, was ordered to suspend him. He so far acquiesced as to request him to preach no more for the present. This was not sufficient. The Bishop was summoned before the new Commission Court; was suspended from his bishopric; and the obsequious bishops of Rochester and Durham were commanded to administer it. So far the members of the new Court would go. But even they shrank from depriving Compton of his palace and episcopal revenue.

While the King and his advisers were doing their best to alienate the most loyal and most influential adherents of the House of Stewart, members of his own communion were irritating the common people by their open violation of the law. What touches the multitude most nearly is what they can see and what they can hear. We remember the dangerous mobs of Londoners in the early days of the Long Parliament. James was not afraid to provoke similar outbursts of feeling in London, Bristol, and other large towns in the country. Roman priests began to appear in the streets. And what was more likely to provoke an uproar, monks

and friars were seen in the dresses peculiar to their orders. Hitherto men had only seen such dresses in the mock processions on Guy Fawkes' Day or some similar occasion when the popular taste was gratified by such a spectacle. Mock processions of cardinals, monks, and friars, with a figure of the Pope in his robes and tiara, paraded the streets. The figure was thrown into a bonfire at the end of the day. Now the service for the day was still permitted, but the people were deprived of their amusement. "Bonfires were forbidden on this day: what doth this portend?" writes Evelyn.

Real monks and friars were seen everywhere in public. The Franciscans were in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Carmelites were in the city; Benedictines were in St James's Palace; and as a climax Jesuits were allowed to open a school in the Savoy. The statutes against Romanists were terribly severe and cruel. Those against the Jesuits were particularly harsh. Every Jesuit who landed in England was liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Anyone suspected of belonging to the Order might be questioned, and if he refused to answer could be imprisoned for life. They consequently could not appear in public, but were obliged to work in disguise. The real difference was that now they were seen of all men. Hence the shock which was given to a people which had not long recovered from the panic of the Popish Plot.

Roman Catholic chapels, too, were opened, and worship was publicly conducted. All this was done regardless of the laws which everyone knew were still in force. The consequence was dangerous rioting in London and many parts of the country. The services were interrupted, and their most sacred feelings out-

raged by insults of the mob. The soldiers were at last called out to disperse the people in the city. The Indulgence of Charles II. had wisely aimed at tolerating Roman Catholic worship in private. But James would not be content with what he considered half measures. He took every opportunity of openly professing his religion. He began to try to use the English churches for his own form of service. A service in which the King played an important part gave him the opportunity of doing so,

From the days of the Confessor the King of England had touched sick people. Shakespeare makes Malcolm describe this "most miraculous work" in his play of '*Macbeth*,' which

"I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven  
Himself best knows : but strangely-visited people  
All swoln and ulcerous pitiful to the eye.  
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,  
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,  
Put on with holy prayers : and 'tis spoken,  
To the succeeding royalty he leaves  
The healing benediction."

The ceremony thus described was performed by all our sovereigns till the reign of William III.<sup>1</sup> An old picture of the day shows us the King touching a diseased person. Two ecclesiastics kneel on either side. Yeomen of the Guard are keeping order among the crowd of sick folk and onlookers. The service consisted of the reading of the part of St Mark's Gospel, where we are told of the Saviour's promise that His disciples should lay hands on the sick and they should recover. At the end of the

<sup>1</sup> William naturally refused, but Anne revived it and was the last sovereign who touched for the evil. Dr Johnson was touched by her in 1712.

reading of a portion of St John the King crossed the sore with a gold piece—which was hung round the neck. James used this service for his own ends. The form of service contained prayers to the Virgin and saints. Father Huddleston, who had attended the late King on his deathbed, occupied the pulpit in the Cathedral Church at Bath. James may have thought that there was some chance of Ken's conversion. The Bishop seems to have regarded the King with affectionate loyalty. But James was mistaken. The Bishop took the first opportunity of preaching to a crowded congregation in the same building. In his sermon he vigorously denounced the errors of Rome and boldly defended the position of the Church of England. The King was taught a lesson, by which he might have profited much. He could not reckon on the highest Churchmen as aiders and abettors of his work. He would find that they were, in fact, the stoutest opponents of the claims of Rome.

James next turned his attention to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These bodies had ever been most closely connected with the Church of England. From them came those who were to be her bishops and clergy. Most of her leading laymen had also been educated in one of their colleges. They had both suffered much for the Church and Throne in the Civil Wars. Rather than desert the Church's cause heads of colleges and Fellows had been expelled from their offices and had lived in poverty. The members of Oxford University had but recently shown their devotion to James by doing their utmost to defeat Monmouth's attempt upon his throne.

In the early part of the year 1687 a royal letter was sent to Cambridge directing the Vice-Chancellor to

admit a benedictine to the degree of Master of Arts. The statutes required that all who received degrees should take the oath of supremacy and an oath of obedience. Alban Francis, the monk who presented himself on this occasion, refused to take either one or the other. The Vice-Chancellor and the University authorities had no desire to offend the King. They could not, however, conscientiously break the law. They therefore, after some attempts at explanation, refused. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Jeffreys, the Lord Chancellor, treated them with his usual rudeness, jeered at them and tried to bully them. The Vice-Chancellor, as he still refused to disobey the statutes, was deprived of his office and also of his revenues as master of a college. The Commission thus began to deprive men of their freehold property. The only offence in this case was a refusal to break the law of the country.

The proceedings at the other University were more lengthy, and are better known to readers of the history of this reign.

The office of President of Magdalen College was vacant. The Fellows had the right of election. James sent them a message that he expected them to elect one favourable to his religion.

He had already begun to use the dispensing power which the judges had pronounced to be part of his lawful prerogative. He had even allowed a priest who had become a Romanist to retain his living. He had already allowed Walker, the Master of University College, with certain Fellows, to be present at a Roman chapel within the walls and to issue tracts in favour of their adopted religion. He had gone further in the case of John Massey, a layman. He was

appointed to the deanery of Christ Church, where the Roman service was also performed. Romanism had thus been introduced into two colleges. The Fellows of Magdalen were determined that they would resist on behalf of their own rights and those of the Church at large.

The man whom the King selected was now a Romanist. He had been at one time a Dissenter. He was always a man of indifferent character. The statute required that the President should have been a Fellow of New College or Magdalen. This man, Farmer, belonged to neither College. When the day of election came, they chose one of their number, John Hough.

They, too, were summoned before the Commission. Farmer's name was withdrawn and Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, became the King's nominee. The Fellows declared that Hough was duly elected and that they were bound by their oath to support him. There was therefore now no vacancy.

A few months afterwards James himself visited Oxford. He had made a progress through his kingdom, and had been received everywhere with demonstrations of loyalty, if not of enthusiasm. He now summoned the Fellows of Magdalen before him, and upbraided them for their disloyalty and disobedience. He bade them go to their chapel and elect the bishop. Only one of them was ready to obey. They were again, then, summoned before the Commissioners, who came down to Oxford. Hough, the new President, and all the Fellows except two, were ejected.

Their sentence was terribly severe. They were not only ejected from their Oxford Fellowships, but they were declared incapable of holding any Church pre-

ferment. The ordinances of Cromwell were being repeated by the son of the martyred King.

Parker held his office for only a few months. Giffard, a titular bishop, succeeded to the Presidentship of Magdalen, and the Roman service was used in the chapel. Men of that religion held the Fellowships, and the College became more thoroughly a Romanist institution than either Christ Church or University.

It was plain that if such a thing could happen to Magdalen College, it might happen to any corporation or college, any rectory or bishopric in the country. The Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge, and the President and Fellows of Magdalen at Oxford, had disobeyed, and had protested. They had the honour of suffering for disobedience to the unlawful commands of a King who had pledged his word to support and defend their Church, and to interfere with no one's property.

James was apparently surprised at the resistance which he met at Oxford. He had supposed that the Fellows at Magdalen would implicitly obey him. "Is this your Church of England loyalty? I could not have believed that so many clergymen of the Church of England would have been concerned in such a business." To understand his words we must examine the doctrine which was so largely held at the time in different forms—passive obedience to the royal authority. There were two distinct schools. There were those who held that the King's power was from God. But he had sworn to obey the laws. If he broke this oath, and desired to supersede the law, no one was obliged to obey him. They must not resist him. They might be spoiled of all that they possessed, but they could not help the Sovereign to break the laws and constitution of England.

There were others who taught that the King's power had no limitations. Writers who upheld this doctrine would condemn Langton and the barons in John's reign as rebels, and the great Charter as a sign of their rebellion.

Sir Robert Filmer, who had lived before the Civil War, and whose works were published after his death, taught that the King's power is from God, and consequently hath no inferior power to limit it. He is supreme, and may dispense with laws or may mitigate their severity in such cases as he judges right. His theory of patriarchal government was widely held and preached by many of the clergy as an undoubted truth. It was largely used in the days of the Exclusion Bill, when the Church defended James's rights, and helped him to secure the English crown.

Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, dedicated to the University of Oxford, in 1684, his '*Jus Regium*', a book which taught similar doctrines. Absolute monarchy was the best form of government. A limited monarchy had many drawbacks, and was consequently much inferior both for the King himself and also for his people. The University of Oxford had also at this time condemned twenty propositions concerning the government of a country. Among them were the propositions which taught that a contract existed between the King and his people; and also that authority to rule came from them. They also condemned a book which was much more famous than the works of Filmer and Mackenzie, namely, '*The Leviathan*' of Thomas Hobbes.

Hobbes maintained that the will of the King is the standard of right and wrong. But his teaching, which

was a form of the doctrine of passive resistance, was based upon doctrine which might destroy the authority of the Church. The King, he said, was God's vicegerent. All power flowed from his person. He might ordain clergy, or perform religious rites if he pleased. God's kingdom on earth was not the Catholic Church, with power and authority from Christ, but the civil kingdom under its sovereign.

We must, therefore, make a distinction between those who taught and held the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to the King's commands. The Oxford Fellows had been willing to obey the King, but could not disobey the laws. They were unwilling to call in another King who might restore them to their own. They were willing to suffer the loss of position and goods.

Such was their position and the position of Sancroft, Ken, and the majority of the clergy of the Church. They would not teach the doctrines of Mackenzie. They abhorred the principles of Hobbes. James, however, believed that, under any circumstances, the clergy of the Church were bound to obey him—even when he was doing his utmost to ruin the Church. It was true that many had used unguarded and extravagant language. The Church and Crown had for a long time acted together. To defend the liberties of the Church and people against Rome the bishops and clergy had relied upon the power of the Crown. To defend themselves against their common enemy, the Church and Crown had fought side by side in the Civil War. They had suffered together. "It seemed impossible that a day should ever come when the ties which bound the Church to the children of the August Martyr could be sundered, and when the loyalty in

which she gloried would cease to be a pleasing and a profitable duty."

We naturally wonder why the King should have risked his crown and also have endangered the safety of his own friends and men of his own faith by such a course of action. What were really his plans? Did he hope for a reunion of the Roman or English Churches? Possibly in the earlier part of his reign some such vision may have floated across his own mind. It may at any rate have been in the minds of the more moderate of his counsellors. For it was not such an impossibility as we might now suppose. The English Church had at any rate the credit among many learned men of the Gallican Church of being attached to the Church of the primitive ages. The English and Roman Churches at the time appealed to exactly the same authorities and witnesses. Divines of both Churches in their controversies appealed to antiquity. The Bible, as interpreted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, was as much the motto of Rome as of England. There was as yet no question of development of doctrine. There had been as yet no definition about the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

Bossuet, the learned Bishop of Meaux, and men of his school were not therefore in principle so far apart from the Church of England as exemplified by the school of Andrewes or Bishop Ken. The four articles which stated the principles of the Church of France had been put forth in 1682 by the Gallican clergy, led by Bossuet. They asserted the independence of the power of the State, the superiority of the Church's councils to the Pope, and the right of the French Church to have its own usages and customs. Bossuet had dealt with the English Reformation in the seventh

book of his great work on the ‘History of the Variations of Protestantism.’ The work was one of the few books of any real worth which Roman divines had published for the benefit of English readers in this reign. His authority for the Reformation in England is Bishop Burnet. Burnet’s history was popular but very one-sided, and did its utmost to emphasize the differences between England and Rome, between the men of the old and new learning in the Church of England. But the French bishop concludes his review of the period with words of hopefulness. “A nation so wise will not remain long in this haziness. The respect which she preserves for the Fathers and the curious and continuous researches into antiquity will lead her back to the doctrines of the first ages. I cannot believe that she will persist in the hatred which she has conceived against the chair of St Peter whence she received her Christianity.”

There were priests in England of the Roman obedience who were moderate men, “professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church.” In Charles II.’s reign schemes for reunion had been again discussed. Vernacular hymns were to be used in the service; marriage of the clergy and communion in both kinds were suggested as possible concessions to English custom.<sup>1</sup>

If any such plans were in the King’s mind in the early days of his reign, he had showed that he would now be satisfied with nothing less than the destruction of the Church of which he had once been a member, and whose rights and property he had solemnly promised to defend.

The northern primacy was kept vacant for a time. Father Petre was to be consecrated to that See. The

<sup>1</sup> See Note III. on pages 225-6.

Pope himself, however, did not support this project. We naturally ask—supposing Petre had been placed in the See of York—What then? Were the dean and canons of the cathedral to be expelled from the stalls if they refused to obey him? Were the clergy of the diocese of York to be expelled from their benefices? And what was to be done with the laity of the Church? The population of the country at the time numbered over five millions. Possibly a quarter of a million might have professed the same faith as the King. Were the great majority of the nation to be coerced by the army which was encamped on Hounslow Heath? or were they to be converted by the arguments of the Romanist divines?

The latter were not making much way. James seems to have hoped that the arguments which were found in his brother's papers would have a great effect. He handed them to the Primate Sancroft and asked for an answer. They stated that there must be an infallible Church somewhere, and concluded that Rome must be that Church. The argument had made an impression on Charles's mind when he had given any serious thought to religion; and James thought that it was unanswerable. Sancroft received the paper with the deference due to the King, which the latter misinterpreted and considered to be a confession of his defeat.

Most of the clergy of his communion were men who were very unlikely to influence the English people. They had passed their youth in foreign colleges and spoke with a foreign accent. Their English was very imperfect, and they were met by men who were in the front rank of the writers of the day—by Patrick, Sherlock, and Stillingfleet, and by three men who afterwards sat on the throne of Canterbury—Tillotson,

Tenison, and Wake. The popular mind was deeply stirred by the controversy. The men who took the highest views of the Church were in the forefront of the battle. Ken's religion was as he professed "the holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West." No divine in the Church of England preached more vigorously against Romanism. When he preached, crowds listened with eagerness and attention. In the spring of 1688 he was preaching before the Princess Anne at Whitehall. He took for his text the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses of the seventh chapter of Micah. Judah, he said, was the Church of England. Babylon was the Roman Church. Edom represented Protestant dissent. Judah in old days had suffered at the hands of Babylon; but she was delivered by the Almighty when she was penitent. So Ken promised his hearers it should be in their day. God had visited them for their sins, but the Church should emerge as Judah did from her trouble and persecution. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this historical sermon is that a man of Ken's wisdom and judgment should have looked forward to a 'Babylonish captivity' of the Church of England. He warned the Protestant dissenters—Edom—not to rejoice in the days of the Church's tribulation. They would suffer with the English Church in the days of Rome's triumph. The danger then was evidently looked upon as far greater than we can now imagine.

The King was very angry at his friend's outspoken words of warning and prophecy, and Ken retired for the time to his diocese. The great crisis which the preacher had foreseen was very near at end. The end of it, however, was not such as he had predicted.

In the earlier part of the reign the laws against Protestant Dissenters were rigorously enforced. Numbers of them were forced into communion with the Church. Baxter had been tried by Jeffreys, and had spent two years in prison. All this was now suddenly changed. James determined to unite Romanist and Protestant Dissenters in his great effort to weaken or destroy the Church of England. The celebrated Declaration of Indulgence was the fruit of this policy.

In it the King declared that he desired that all men should be members of the Catholic Church—by which, of course, he meant the Roman Church. He had, however, for a long time seen that men's consciences could not be forced in matters of religion. He had thereupon issued this Declaration of Indulgence. The old promises about his protection of the English Church and the maintenance of her bishops and clergy in the full enjoyment of their possessions without any molestation were renewed. As far as other men were concerned, all penal laws were suspended in matters ecclesiastical, tests and oaths of supremacy and allegiance were suspended, and all might worship God as their conscience directed them. Those who were at present suffering under such penal laws were pardoned, and holders of church property and abbey lands received an assurance that their rights should not be disturbed.

Churchmen naturally received the Declaration with coldness, but at present made no attempts at resistance. Five bishops tried to induce their clergy to sign an address of thanks to His Majesty. They were the men of least weight on the episcopal bench. Crewe of Durham and Cartwright of Chester were mere tools in the King's hands. Barlow of Lincoln was continually

absent from his diocese ; Watson of St David's was afterwards deprived for simony ; and Wood of Lichfield who had procured his bishopric through the favour of a mistress of the late King, had been suspended by Sancroft for neglect of duty ; and as Dean of the same cathedral had shown favour to the Puritan party—not so much for his love of the Puritans, but because he would trouble his Bishop. The King, in fact, seems to have been somewhat unfortunate in the character of those who were willing to further his plans.

The Roman Catholics were naturally thankful for the relief which the Indulgence afforded them. We cannot be surprised that Protestant Dissenters were also thankful. Rapin tells us that the Anabaptists led the way, and the Quakers, under William Penn, who was a special favourite of the King, followed quickly after them.

Addresses of thanks were also signed by members of the Presbyterian and Independent bodies. But the men of the greatest weight and best character among them refused to put their names to these addresses. Baxter, for example, and Howe, who had returned from exile, and the author of the '*Pilgrim's Progress*' were of this number.

The King, too, gained very little by this change of policy. He was obliged to offend his natural supporters. The corporations of towns were everywhere regulated by the Crown. Tories and Churchmen were turned out of office, and Protestant Dissenters or Roman Catholics were put in their places. In London there was an Anabaptist Lord Mayor. Evelyn tells us that he invited the King and Queen and the Papal Nuncio to a great feast in the Guildhall. His comment is well worth our notice. "A strange turn of affairs,

that those who scandalized the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publicly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Anti-Christ." Dissenting preachers, too, who received such sudden and unexpected favours from the Roman Catholic King could hardly preach their old sermons about the Scarlet Woman and the Man of Sin. Many of the wealthiest members of their congregations did not approve of what they thought unfaithfulness in preaching the Word.

The King's action at Oxford and his expulsion of men from their offices had caused deep resentment and fear not only among Churchmen. Many of those who had signed the addresses of thanks for the Indulgence had soon reason to see that they had committed an error.

The King had made his first serious attack upon the Church's rights in the two universities. The refusal of the authorities at Cambridge and the Magdalen Fellows at Oxford to obey his will, were the first acts of resistance. In a few months the Primate of all England, with practically the whole of the Church at his back, was resisting the King's commands. The first result of the Declaration of Indulgence was that Roman and Protestant dissenting places of worship sprang up in numbers in all parts of the country. Had the King been content with this, the country would have probably acquiesced. But he went further. He reissued the Declaration with a command that the clergy in London should read it in the public worship on the two last Sundays in May, and the country clergy on the two first Sundays in June. The bishops were to distribute this order to the clergy. As the royal command was dated on 4th May, the bishops of the Church had little time to take counsel with their clergy. They

knew that most of them thought that the Declaration itself was a violation of the law; but to be ordered to read it was to actively participate in this violation, and was a gross insult to the Church. On the other hand, disobedience to James's command would probably mean (as in the case of the Magdalen Fellows) ejection from benefice and bishopric.

On the 12th of May, Sancroft presided over a meeting at Lambeth. When they came together, the Primate was already assured that eighty per cent. of the London clergy would refuse to read the Declaration. Sancroft had been bold enough to refuse to serve on the Ecclesiastical Commission, but at other times he had shown little spirit. He had silenced clergy, at the King's command, when the Roman controversy was raging, and he was indebted to the King for his promotion to Canterbury, and was known to be thoroughly loyal to his master.

He made no hesitation in this great crisis. He and his brethren were assisted at their deliberations by the leading clergy then in London. The result of the meeting was the celebrated petition which was drawn up in Sancroft's handwriting. He had, however, been forbidden to appear at Court since his refusal to serve on the Commission. The six bishops who had put their names to it sought the King's presence.

James took the paper, read it, and grew angry. He knew full well that it was a standard of resistance. The bishops protested that there were no more loyal subjects than themselves. Ken as usual spoke with boldness. "Sir, I hope that you will grant to us that liberty of conscience which you grant to all mankind." James persisted that he would be obeyed. They could only answer "God's will be done," and leave

his presence. On the same night the petition was printed and sold in the streets of London, and it was speedily circulated throughout the kingdom. How it got into the hands of the printer is a mystery which has not been solved.

The churches were naturally packed with people on the following Sunday. But only in four London churches was the Declaration read, and in these the congregations rose and left the church when the first words of it were uttered. It was the same in the country. Some bishops refused to distribute the order. Croft of Hereford—the favourer of concessions to the Puritans about matters of ritual—obeyed. He was afterwards, we are told, ashamed of what he had done. But the Declaration would really have met his own views. What then would the Government do? Would they cite the Archbishop and the bishops before the Commission and deprive them? This was the first decision of the King's Council. But it was obviously too dangerous and probably impossible to do it. It was therefore decided to prosecute them for a libel.

On the 8th of June, Sancroft and his brethren were before the Privy Council. They had received the best legal advice, which counselled them to keep silence. It was only at the King's command that they would answer whether it was their own petition. When Jeffreys, the Chancellor, told them that they would be tried for libel in King's Bench and bade them enter into recognizances, they refused, as no peer of the realm was obliged to do so in a libel suit. For their refusal to do this they were committed to the Tower.

As their barge passed down the river the people crowded to see them, knelt upon the banks and de-

manded their blessing. The very sentinels at the Tower gates knelt before them. The soldiers—upon whom James chiefly relied—everywhere drank their health. The greatest peers of the country visited them in the Tower. A deputation of Dissenters assured them of their support. The King could not have had more proofs of the resolve of the Church and people to support the Prelates in their struggle.

On the 15th they were again before the Privy Council, and were released on bail till the day fixed for their trial—the 29th. Churchmen of all ranks seemed to feel instinctively that the great day had come for them.

It seemed at first as if the verdict would be given upon a mere technical point of law. Was it the petition of the bishops? Was it delivered in the county of Middlesex?

When these points were proved the King's counsel tried to prove that the petition itself was a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The counsel for the seven defendants showed that the King's dispensing power had been declared illegal by Parliament. The King's subjects, they urged, had every right to present petitions, and this one was neither false, malicious, nor seditious. Two of the judges summed up for, and two against, the bishops. The jury was locked up during the whole night. At ten o'clock on the following morning the verdict of "Not Guilty" was received by the expectant crowds with a joy and with such outward demonstrations of thankfulness as are seldom seen in this country. The church bells rang, the cannons roared, the city was decked with flags in honour of the victory.

The Archbishop and his brethren went to return

thanks to God in a church near the Court. The second lesson for that morning's service related the release of St Peter from prison. It was the second time that the lesson for the day seemed to be chosen particularly for them. On the evening when they reached the Tower they had heard in the second lesson the words "In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments."

The King himself learned the result of the trial from the cheers of the soldiers on Hounslow Heath. "It was nothing," he was told; "the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted." "Do you call that nothing?" and then he added, as if he could learn nothing from what had happened, "so much the worse for them." For the time the Primate and the bishops who had thus stood in the front of the struggle were looked upon as national heroes. Medals were struck in their honour and their portraits were sold everywhere. In the illuminations in the city of London, seven candles were burnt in the widows, and the central light was taller than the others as a representation of Sancroft the Archbishop.

Meanwhile events were happening which were of the greatest importance in the history of the Church. On the night that the bishops were committed to the Tower, a prince was born.

The news of this event increased the excitement and hurried on the events which led to the expulsion of James and his family. The King might have been tolerated for his own life. The Church and nation would then have looked forward to the time when his daughters, who were Churchwomen, would succeed him. But the birth of an infant prince meant a succession

of kings belonging to an alien Church. On the day when the bishops were acquitted, the 30th of June, the message was sent to the Prince of Orange asking him to deliver England from the tyranny and misrule of his father-in-law.

James seems to have been one of the few people in the country who did not see that a revolution was at hand. The closing scenes of his reign are closely bound up with the fortunes of the Church. The King still thought about taking vengeance upon those who had withheld him and disobeyed his injunctions about the Declaration. Chancellors and archdeacons were consequently ordered to make a return of the clergy who had refused to read it. Most of those officials of the Church refused to make any return. It would have been useless for them to do so, as nearly every beneficed clergyman in England would have been summoned to appear before James' Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

That Court, too, had practically ceased to exist. Those who had been most regular in attendance sent in their resignations. Sprat, the Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, had consistently supported the King. He had possibly hoped for the Northern Primacy. When his letter of resignation was read, the other Commissioners were naturally alarmed. It meant that the unconstitutional Court which was to have been the means of reducing the Church of England to subjection was at an end. Not a word of remonstrance was addressed to the archdeacons and chancellors who had set at nought the mandate of the Court.

James, however, had not yet given up all hope. He attempted to force Jeffreys upon the University of

Oxford as its chancellor in succession to the old Royalist Duke of Ormonde. He sent down Timothy Hall to Oxford to succeed Parker the late bishop. But the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church were absent at his installation and the University refused to give him his Degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Meantime the President and Fellows of Magdalen who had been expelled, presented a priest to one of their livings, and the Bishop of Gloucester did not refuse to institute him. All these things were signs of the times, which it was easy for any man to read. The Church and the Crown were no longer acting in unison. James had brought all things into confusion by his folly and obstinacy. The prelates of the Church stepped forward to guide and lead not only the Church but the nation at large into the pathway of safety.

Sancroft and the bishops had risked their position, and had suffered together. They found, however, that they could rely on the support of the clergy and people at large. They had received the support of the better part of the Protestant Dissenters. They seemed to have before their mind for a few weeks the vision of a United English Christendom. They were now able to act without restraint, and they sent out instructions which reversed the policy of the Parliament of the early years of the Restoration. Dissenters from the Church were to be treated with fairness and civility. They were to be convinced that the bishops of the Church at any rate had no intention of yielding to the claims of Rome. Daily prayers were to be made for the union of the Reformed Church against the common enemy, and the people were to be warned against popish seducers. They also claimed to be the true pastors and shepherds of those laity who were Romanists, but

who had hitherto obeyed the titular bishops of the Roman obedience.

The unfortunate King at last recognized the danger. He again turned to the Church for help, and summoned the bishops more than once to his presence. Sancroft gave him candidly and fearlessly his own judgment and that of the other bishops. He told the King that if he would undo all the evil which had been done in the Church and State, all might yet be well.

The illegal Commission Court must come to an end. All acts done under the dispensing power must be revoked—men must be restored to the fellowships and positions of which they had been *illegally* deprived, and the old Charters must be restored to the corporations. Then he suggested that there was one thing which would put an end to all difficulty and which would rally the nation round his throne. If His Majesty would again consider the points of difference between the English and Roman Churches, and return to his mother the Church of England—there would be nothing to fear from enemies at home or abroad. James was obliged to listen with patience. He even carried out part of Sancroft's advice. The Commission Court was formally abolished; the Charter was restored to the city with much formality; the See of York was filled up and the ejected President and Fellows returned to Magdalen College. But he would not yield upon the point of his power to dispense with the laws of the country. He was not likely, as a convinced and honest Roman Catholic, to give up his religion to save his crown.

James then made an effort to get the Church of England to declare herself in his favour and publicly to condemn the invasion of William of Orange. The

Primate and his suffragans were naturally slow to throw in their lot entirely with James or to commit the Church to any such proposition. They could only reply that they had learned a lesson not to meddle too deeply in politics. On the last occasion that they had done so they found themselves in the Tower, so that the King must excuse them from having anything to do with the matter. They had already been warned that he was merely attempting to divide his opponents. A few months before he had attempted to unite Romanist and Protestant Dissenters in an attack upon the Church. That plan had hopelessly failed. Now he saw nothing before him for the time but to fall back upon the support of the Church. He was ready to promise again to maintain her in her powers and privileges, but the bishops and Churchmen could no longer trust him.

John Evelyn wrote a letter to the Archbishop in which he warned him that James' promises were not to be trusted, as he was still in the hands of his Jesuit advisers. The words of the letter throw light on what was to happen in the days which followed the end of this reign. The Jesuits were saying that the Church of England as by law established might mean the Church of Rome, or the Church in union with Rome, which came to much the same thing in their eyes. So it would be necessary, he thought, to add the words 'Reformed' or 'Protestant' that their devices might be frustrated. Some word must be found which could not be used by men who were in communion with the Roman See. When then the words 'Protestant' and 'Reformed' were added to the usual title of the Church in this country, they were intended to be used to make clear the position of the Church of England

as against Rome, but not to compromise her position as the Catholic Church in England.

The Declaration of William of Orange was already in the hands of the King. It declared that he had been invited by Lords Spiritual as well as Temporal. James asked the bishops to clear themselves, and Sancroft and the bishops could only declare that they had not invited the Prince. Compton of London was the only one of their number who had done so, and he was able to deceive the King by a skilfully evasive answer. A few weeks later, the bishops were again with the King. They advised him to summon a free Parliament. Instead of following their advice, James left the country and his throne was declared vacant.

During these months of uncertainty and danger, the Church took a leading part in saving the country from the usual perils and bloodshed which accompany a revolution. There were riots in London, and Roman Catholic chapels were destroyed and their contents burned. There was, however, scarcely any loss of life. The change of dynasty had been brought about by the foolish action of James. It remains for us to see how far the promises of the Prince of Orange and the expectation of the bishops and the Church were to be realized in William's reign.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CHURCH DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY

WILLIAM and Mary ascended the English throne after a short interregnum. The new King hitherto had had one great object in life, which was to frustrate the aims of Louis of France. At the time of his invasion of England he had shown the greatest tact and skill in uniting the enemies of that King. All the Powers of Europe looked upon James as a mere satellite of Louis.

The Roman Catholic princes of Spain and Austria, and even the Pope, were opposed to him; and the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague ordered masses to be said for the success of William's expedition. Thus we have the strange fact that the King, who was making every effort to bring England into dependence upon the Roman See, was deprived of his throne and exiled from his country, through the assistance of the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe and with the goodwill of the Sovereign Pontiff.

But we turn from the politics of the time to the situation in which the Church of England found herself at the Revolution. Much, of course, depended upon the personal views of the new King. William was a Dutchman and a Calvinist. He was supposed to

be willing to tolerate any religious opinions, so that the Romanists in England did not look upon the change with any great alarm. The more moderate party among them, who recognised that the plans of Father Petre could not succeed, would be glad to learn that they might live in peace.

As far as his own personal faith was concerned, William believed in no form of Church government, though he preferred Presbyterianism to any other. He strongly disliked much of what he had seen in his wife's chapel in Holland when the English Church service was performed by her chaplain. Nor was he much pleased with the freedom of speech of her chaplains. He had not treated his wife kindly, and it was notorious that he was an unfaithful husband. Ken, who was at one time at the Hague, rebuked him for his sin. Tenison, when Archbishop of Canterbury, also rebuked him for his immorality during the latter part of Mary's life.

The clerical adviser to whom he listened with most readiness was Gilbert Burnet. He also was Mary's chaplain, and was a restless, busy man, ready both with his pen and his tongue. He has left us his own view of the events of his day in the 'History of his own Times.' He also had a great influence on his contemporaries and on succeeding generations by a work which became for a time a standard authority, namely, his 'History of the Reformation.' Burnet was a Scotsmen with no real sympathy for the Church of England and no belief in her position or claims. He and his master viewed the Church as one of the many Protestant bodies of Europe which had separated itself from the ancient but corrupt Church of pre-Reformation times. Soon after his accession, William

made him Bishop of Salisbury, and he continued to be his chief adviser in Church affairs.

James had brought about his own fall chiefly through his attacks upon the Church of England. It was quite plain that the position of the Church must be affected in the settlement which the nation would make with his successor. James had dispensed with the law, and had broken his promise to maintain the rights of the Church and not to interfere with men's property. Henceforth it would be necessary to make these rights more secure. The Crown must be bound more strictly, if possible, to respect the rights of the Church and nation. It would have seemed that the Church of England could have made her own terms with William. And there is little doubt that she could have done so had her leaders among the bishops, clergy, and laity been united. At no time did her influence seem to be so great, and certainly at no time did she stand in higher favour with the nation than during the months which preceded the Revolution. But when James went into exile, her influence almost ceased to be effective, and this was largely due to the hesitation of Sancroft and those Churchmen who acted with him.

The Primate did not wish James to rule; but he wished him still to be King. He objected, on the other hand, to acknowledge William as King, while he was not unwilling for him to rule the country. A large number of Churchmen took the same view. They felt that they were still bound by their oath of allegiance to James, and although he might have broken his word to them, they were unable to break their faith to him. It was unfortunate for the Church that this was so, as it was the cause of her weak-

ness at a time when she needed to use her full strength.

The Whig party, on the other hand, who were either hostile to the Church or at best indifferent to her spiritual claims and position, naturally took the lead. They adopted a practical view of the situation when a practical view was an absolute necessity. As they had no scruples about oaths of allegiance, and did not believe in hereditary or divine right of monarchs, they could declare that the throne was vacant. The English crown, as they rightly held, was elective. When William landed in England the men who could hold such views would probably be in a small minority. When, however, the crisis came, and some way was to be found out of the difficulty, the Whig view was adopted, and William and Mary became King and Queen of England.

They were crowned by Compton, the Bishop of London, on 11th April 1689, as Sancroft would take no part in the ceremony. Parliament had prepared a new coronation oath for the occasion. In the old form the Church was styled "the Church of England as by law established." We have already pointed out that those words had been perverted or misconstrued by those who wished to further the cause of Rome in the late reign. With the view of preventing the possibility of understanding that the Roman Church could be meant by the terms of the oath, it was suggested that in "all extraordinary offices . . . the words Reformed and Protestant" should be added to the words "Church of England as by law established." Thus these words were added to the words of the oath which ran as follows: "Will ye to the utmost of your Power maintaine the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospell and the Protestant Reformed Religion estab-

lished by law, and will ye preserve to the Bishops and Clergy of this Realme and the Church committed to their charge, as by law do or shall appertaine to them or any of them?" The King and Queen both replied, "All this I promise to do." In other ways the ceremonial was not impaired. The Eucharist was again administered and the few changes which were made brought the service to be more in accordance with the old form used in the Anglo-Saxon period. The King still received the Ring "as a sign of kingly dignity, and as a Defender of the Catholic Faith." At the same time, Parliament made it clear that the English people would never again trust a Roman Catholic with the crown. By the Bill of Rights no one who was a Romanist, or who married a Romanist, could sit upon the throne of England. At the end of William's reign the Act of Settlement made it clearer that it was intended that the Sovereign should be in communion with the Church of England. "Whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the Church of England, as by law established."

Both Houses of Parliament had sworn allegiance to the King and Queen in the month of March 1689. The Northern Primate and nine bishops had taken the oath; but Sancroft and eight bishops refused to do so. The question immediately arose, What should be done with these men? Five of these prelates had withheld the tyranny of James and had been committed to the Tower. Might they not retain their positions, as their refusal was a matter of conscience? The majority in Parliament decided otherwise, and a Bill was passed which required all men who held office in the Church to take the oath of allegiance. Those who still refused

were to be deprived of their benefices and sees; but six months were to be allowed for reconsideration. On February 1, 1690, if they still persisted in their refusal they were to be deprived. When the fatal day came the Archbishop himself, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough, preferred to lose their bishoprics and live in poverty. Four hundred of the clergy followed their example. Lake of Chichester, who died before the day of deprivation came, has left a declaration of his principles which represents their position. "Being called by a sick and I think a dying bed, and the good hand of God upon me in it, to take the last and best viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lord's Body and Blood, I take myself obliged to make this short recognition and profession." "The Church of England taught me the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England. I adhere no less firmly and steadfastly to that, and in consequence of it have incurred a suspension from the exercise of my office and expected deprivation." Ken, who at first hesitated, took the same course. He also had strong objections to what he considered the Erastian proceedings of the Government. He held that bishops and priests of the Church could not be thus rightly deprived merely by the Civil Power. In a time of doubt and perplexity he made up his mind that the way of the Cross was the safest way, and he threw in his lot with the other Nonjurors. Thus the Church lost the services of her best and most saintly bishop.

It would be, therefore, a mistake if we suppose that all the men who were thus ejected, suffered simply because

they refused to take an oath of allegiance to the King. Most of them also held strongly that the Church of England was Christ's spiritual kingdom in this country and that the Civil Power could not deprive them of offices which they held only from God.

What then was to be their future course of action? Were they to hold communion in any way with the clergy who had taken the oath? These questions speedily showed that the Nonjurors were divided in opinion. Ken and Frampton and those who followed them had no desire to make any permanent division in the Church, nor had they any desire that the people should leave their parish churches. They themselves could not conscientiously take the oath, but they would not call a man a schismatic who did so with a clear conscience. The other party took what was probably a more consistent view of their position. They argued that they were now the only true pastors of the Church. The others were schismatics. They must therefore continue their ministry and ordain men to take their place. Sancroft, after some hesitation, acted with these men, and appointed Lloyd of Norwich, who was their real leader, to use his authority. It was not, however, until after the death of the Archbishop that he and two other bishops consecrated two bishops. James nominated Hickes and Wagstaffe for the purpose of carrying on the succession after a consultation with the Archbishop of Paris and Bishop Bossuet. The Pope himself was likewise consulted as to the propriety of a Roman Catholic king still selecting bishops for a heretical communion. The majority of the nonjuring clergy lived in poverty in England, and preached to small congregations in mean buildings, or in the 'upper rooms' of houses. Some of them were men who brought discredit on

their Order, and were mixed up in the Jacobite plots in the reign of William. Most of them, however, were men who were contented to sacrifice their incomes and homes for the sake of conscience. If, however, they suffered in their own country, they suffered more when they crossed the Channel to pay their respects to the King for whom they had sacrificed so much. Denis Grenville, the Dean of Durham, who had done so much to revive the practice of religion, the daily service, and orderly worship, was among the number. He had given up a rich living as well as the deanery. When he visited the Court of the exiled King at St Germains, he naturally desired to minister to the Churchmen who had followed the fortunes of their master. But he was refused, and was so grossly insulted by James's chaplains, that he left the Court. This is but one example of the treatment which the most loyal followers of the House of Stewart were obliged to endure. They were constantly pestered and worried by the Roman priests at St Germains to desert the Church of England, and when they refused they were treated with coldness and contempt. It was a perpetual object lesson to those who might otherwise have believed that James had learned a lesson, and how the English Church would have been treated if a restoration had taken place.

Very few laymen left their parish churches and joined the congregations of Nonjurors. Of those who did so, Robert Nelson, the author of the 'Feasts and Fasts of the Church,' is the most eminent. The eccentric Camden professor at Oxford, Henry Dodwell, was likewise of this number. Their supporters and sympathizers were mainly to be found, as was perhaps natural, in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The division would probably have ended at James's death, but for the unfortunate action of the Government. Men in office were then asked to take another oath, in which they were to abjure the 'Pretender' and to acknowledge William as the 'lawful' King. Some men who had not hesitated to acknowledge William as the 'de facto' King, now felt scruples about the words 'lawful' King. The nonjuring movement thus received a fresh lease of life, and lingered on far into the Hanoverian period. That part of their history does not belong to our period. But we may observe that their liturgical revision (which was again the cause of a division among them) has had an abiding influence upon the Church. The Prayer Books of the Church in Scotland and America still bear marks of this influence. Their attempts, too, at a reunion with the orthodox Churches in the East ought not to be forgotten. For they recognised the fact that the English Church is a part of Catholic Christendom, and they acted upon this belief in their dealings with other Christians.

During the period which we are considering the influence of the movement was twofold. It was very small, as we have seen, as far as numbers are concerned. But at no time could the Church afford to lose the services of saintly men such as Bishop Ken, and Kettlewell, or such men of learning as Collier and Hickes. The Church, too, needed their help just when fresh dangers were close at hand, which were largely due to the personal wishes of William and the advice which he received from men of the school of Burnet.

It was, moreover, through the nonjuring secession that the Government was afraid to press forward the

schemes of comprehension which were highly in favour among these Latitudinarian divines and which were part of the religious policy of the King.

The Protestant Dissenters were said to have been somewhat disappointed in the early part of the reign, because no mention had been made of them in the Revolution Settlement. They had not, however, been forgotten. William would naturally use his great influence in their favour, as he was in reality one with them in religious belief. His desire was that as many Dissenters as possible should be reconciled to the Established religion, and he would give to the remainder such toleration as was practical. The last part of his policy was easily carried into effect, and a Bill of Toleration was passed. But the other part was not successful and the Comprehension Bill failed to pass. All parties were really in agreement that some kind of relief should be granted to Protestant Dissenters. Archbishop Sancroft had expressed his willingness that this should be done when the bishops' petition was presented to James. The laity of the Church, who had been the foremost in passing Bills against Nonconformity in the early days of Charles II., were also willing. One of their number, the Earl of Nottingham, who had always been looked upon as a loyal Churchman, introduced the two Bills into the Lords. Neither of his Bills were really new, as both of them had been prepared and laid aside in the days of the Exclusion Bill.

The Toleration Bill became law, as no one desired to oppose it. It has been called the Great Charter of our religious liberties. A short examination of its contents will show us how far it was from granting perfect toleration and liberty of worship to all men. In the first place, the old statutes were not repealed. But if a man

would show that he was a loyal subject by taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the King, and prove that he was not a Romanist by making the Declaration against Transubstantiation, he was to be relieved from the consequences of the Act of Uniformity and laws of a similar kind. On these conditions the dissenting laity were relieved, but the dissenting preacher was only to receive benefit on condition that he signed the XXXIX. Articles with certain exceptions. He was not, for example, to sign Article 20 on the Church's authority, nor the 35th on the Homilies, nor the 38th on ordination ; nor if he were a Baptist the last part of the Article which deals with the Sacrament of Baptism. Quakers, however, were dealt with separately. They were not compelled to take the oaths ; but they were to sign a declaration against Transubstantiation, promise fidelity to the Government, profess their faith in the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and in the inspiration of the Bible. Romanists, Unitarians, and Jews consequently received no benefits from the Toleration Act, and it was therefore from a modern point of view very imperfect. But it was a practical way of dealing with the subject, as the majority of Dissenters from the Church were either Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists, who were thus recognised by the State. By this Act, Parliament settled for them what they were and what they were not to preach. They came and gladly took the oaths and signed the Articles of religion as soon as the Bill became law. The great benefit for them was that they could hereafter worship as they pleased in safety, although their civil disabilities under the Test and Corporations Acts still remained as before. The Act, however, carried out what was possible, as there is no doubt that liberal Dissenters, such as Baxter,

and liberal Churchmen, such as Burnet and Tillotson, would have opposed any attempt at an entire freedom of conscience and what we should understand as perfect toleration.

The attempt to pass a Comprehension Bill is, however, the chief subject of interest in this part of our period. It was the last serious attempt to alter the constitution and service of the English Church. At no time during the Puritan period of her history was the Church in greater danger of losing her ancient constitution and becoming in all respects similar to one of the Reformed bodies of Holland or France. We have already stated the religious principles and belief of William. He had declared to a leading Dissenter, Dr Bates, that he would do all in his power to bring about such a union between his Protestant subjects "on terms wherein all the Reformed Churches agree." Burnet, his chief ecclesiastical adviser, was also willing to bring about such an arrangement. The divine who was marked out for the Primacy would use his great influence in the same direction.

This was Dr John Tillotson. He was the son of a Calvinist clothier in Halifax, and had held a Fellowship at Cambridge during the days of the Commonwealth. At the Restoration he had lost this position, but had conformed to the Church of England in the following year.

During the reigns of Charles and James he had won a great reputation as a preacher, and had been specially prominent in the controversies with Romanist divines. He had also had a great influence over the Princess Anne and had brought at least one great nobleman, the Earl of Shrewsbury, back from Rome to the communion of the English Church. He had held the Deanery of Canterbury, and was now Stillingfleet's successor in the

Deanery of St Paul's. He was about to be transferred to Lambeth when Sancroft was ejected for not taking the oath of allegiance to William. Tillotson, too, was likely to have little difficulty with the other bishops on the matter of comprehension. During the first two years of the reign, fifteen sees had become vacant. They were filled up by men who belonged to the same school of thought as Tillotson and Burnet, men who had every desire to make as many concessions as possible that the Protestant dissenting subjects of the King might be reconciled to the Church.

The Savoy conference had done little to further this object of comprehension.

But during Charles II.'s reign there were men on both sides who still hoped that something might be done, and informal meetings were held at which schemes for union were discussed. Bishops Croft of Hereford and Wilkins of Chester openly advocated schemes for comprehension, and had done their best to give them effect. In the reign of James, Sancroft had deliberated with leading divines as to what concessions it was possible to make. It was, therefore, no longer because of the unwillingness or stubbornness of staunch Churchmen that the desire for union was unfulfilled.

The whole question turned on one point. Could the concessions which were suggested by various divines and statesmen be carried out without damaging the true position of the Church in England? Concessions were of two kinds. First of all, the old objections to the service book were to be met. Secondly, the more vital matter of the Christian ministry must be settled.

The Bill for Comprehension was first brought into the House of Lords. It was proposed that clergy should no longer subscribe to the XXXIX. Articles,

but that they should approve generally of the worship and doctrines and government of the Church. The clause of most importance was the one which dealt with the ministry of men not ordained in the English Church. It was suggested that Presbyterian ministers might be accepted as ministers of the Church, but the Bishop was to lay his hand upon their heads and give them authority to preach and administer the sacraments, and perform all other offices of the Church of England. In the Church services ministers might use a surplice or not—as they pleased—except in a few great and important churches. They might make the sign of the Cross or omit it, and the people might sit or kneel when they received the Holy Communion. At the same time, commissioners were to be appointed who should revise the Prayer Book and Canons, and the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Bill passed the Lords with the omission of one important part of it, as the clause about ordination was rejected in committee. The House of Commons would have nothing to do with it, until the bishops and clergy had spoken on the subject in their Convocation. But as at present no Convocation had been summoned, the King was asked to summon that body that the matter might be brought before it. The Commons wished to proceed according to the precedent at the time of the Restoration of the King and Church.

In the history of the Commission which was now appointed we have an account of the last attempt to include the Puritan Dissenters within the Church. If the attempt failed it was evident that for some time, at any rate, the English Church would go on her own way and that the Puritan bodies of Dissenters must go on their way and worship and teach

the Christian faith apart from the Catholic Church in England. The Commission met in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster on October 3rd, 1689, and after eighteen sessions presented their report to Convocation at the end of November. It was intended that ten bishops and twenty clergy should take part in these deliberations. Some, however, did not attend at all, and some who opposed the scheme did not attend after the third meeting. They intended to reserve their efforts until Convocation itself should meet. Compton, the Bishop of London, was the chairman, and attended every meeting. The results of this Commission belong to the history of the Prayer Book rather than to the general history of the Church. But we must notice some of the more important proposals, as they tell us what was in the mind of the Latitudinarian clergy of the day. Many of the old suggestions and proposed alterations of the Puritans were carried out. For example, the word 'priest' was to disappear from most of the services, but it was retained in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, along with the words of Absolution, which were slightly altered. Lessons from the Deutero-Canonical books were not to be read on Holy Days, and the Black letter saints were to be expunged from the Calendar. The Ornaments Rubric was quite changed. The surplice was declared to be an ancient and decent habit, but the minister was not obliged to wear it. In the same way the sign of the Cross, and kneeling at the reception of the Eucharist, were no longer of necessity. The Ring was retained in the marriage service, but only as a civil ceremony and pledge. Nearly every Collect was altered, as they were "too short and dry." Patrick was selected as the divine who was most able to improve them. "In

one respect," says Macaulay, "the choice was unexceptionable, for if we judge of the way in which he paraphrased the most sublime Hebrew poetry, we shall probably be of opinion that, whether he was, or was not, qualified to make the Collects better, no man that ever lived was more competent to make them longer." Notes of some value were added both to Creeds of St Athanasius and of Nicæa. Of the former they said "that the Articles ought to be received and believed as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian Faith." Of the Nicene they said, "It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a note ought not here to be added with relation to the Greek Church in order to our maintaining Catholic communion." They referred, of course, to the words "and the Son"—the filioque clause, as it is called—which has never been accepted by the Churches of the East.

A special Collect for Rogation days formed a welcome addition, and a special Preface for Good Friday was also suggested, as celebrations of the Eucharist often took place on that day at that period. But their manner of dealing with the question of Holy Orders is, of course, the most important. They dealt with Roman and Presbyterian ordination. Ought men to be reordained who professed to have received orders in the Roman Church? The question was asked because many men who professed to be priests were probably impostors. In their notes on Presbyterian ordination they say that the Reformed Church abroad is in an imperfect condition, and cannot obtain Episcopal orders. May such men be received with imposition

of hands, as was suggested in the Comprehension Bill? Then there were men in the same condition in England itself. They proposed that these men should be ordained conditionally, with the Church's service. Their letters of orders were to follow the precedent of Archbishop Bramhall, where he had dealt with similar cases in Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

We can easily see from the above that had these suggestions been carried out the ritual of the services and the words of the various offices would have been utterly changed. At the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the experiment had been made of allowing things to be done or not done according to the will of the individual. The result had been that in many places the use of the sign of the Cross and acts of reverence had ceased altogether in many parishes. The old vestments and ornaments of the Church had likewise largely fallen into disuse. The 'minimum' use was that which cost least trouble and also was less expensive. Had the suggestions of this Commission been carried out, there is every probability that whatever ceremonial acts and ornaments remained would in course of time have been given up. To the outward eye the services of the Church would have been very like the services of the Reformed abroad or the Protestant Dissenters at home. The validity of the orders of the English Church would no longer have been doubted by her enemies alone. Her friends would have had some difficulty in defending her position.

The proposals, however, were unfavourably received in the Lower House of Convocation. William sent a message to Convocation by the Earl of Nottingham, begging them not to disappoint him nor to frustrate

<sup>1</sup> See Note IV. on pages 226-7.

his good intentions. It was evident, however, that his policy would be opposed by the clergy when they elected Dr Jane of Christ Church to be their Prolocutor instead of Dr Tillotson. In his speech to Compton he ended with the words "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari," and the clergy of the Lower House were as likely to be as resolute in their opposition to change as were the English barons of the day, when the famous words were first uttered.

The outcome of all these proceedings was that schemes for comprehension and revision of the Prayer Book came to nothing. One incident, however, is worth noticing as it shows us how the views of the bishops differed from those of the majority of their clergy. William had said in his message to Convocation that he would offer nothing for their consideration but what shall be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England. The bishops thanked him for this message, and also for the zeal which he showed for the Protestant religion in general and the Church of England in particular.

The Lower House objected to the wording of the bishops' address, and Burnet and Jane held a conference on the subject. The bishop asserted that the Church of England was only distinguished from other Protestant Churches by its Hierarchy and Revenues, and to use the term 'Church of England' only might satisfy the Romanists if they should at any time get the upper hand. Jane, however, was not satisfied with this explanation, as the English Church differs in doctrine from other Reformed Communions and the term 'Protestant' was equivocal, as it included Quakers, Anabaptists, and Socinians. The end of

the discussion about words and phrases was that the King was thanked "for his pious zeal and care that he was pleased to express for the peace, honour, advantage, and establishment of the Church of England, whereby we doubt not the interest of the Protestant religion in all other Protestant Churches, which is dear to us, will be better secured, under the influence of your Majesty's government and protection." This was a compromise, as the Lower House of Convocation, which we may believe represented the tradition of the Church in this matter and also the opinion of the majority of the clergy, desired only to mention the Church of England.

Under all these disputes about such terms as 'Protestant' and 'Reformed' it was evident that the real matter at issue was, that most of the bishops were quite willing to follow the King and recognise the English Church as in reality one and the same in essence with the Lutheran or Calvinist bodies on the Continent. The clergy, however, were not so willing to break entirely with the past. Their deliberations only brought out further how the term 'Protestant' which was supposed by Evelyn and the best of Churchmen to be a safeguard against Rome at the Revolution, might after all be as equivocal as any other term. Bramhall could use it of men who had sat in the Councils of Constance and Basle. Socinians could also fairly use the term of themselves. Archbishop Laud could use it of himself—as he did in his last words on the scaffold. It was then of little more value than the word 'Papist' of which Lord Macaulay says that in one sense James I. and Andrewes were 'Papists' for they could acknowledge the Primacy of the Roman Bishop, while Bossuet and Pascal were in another sense not 'Papists,' as

they did not acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope.

Thus the King and bishops did not dare to press their comprehension scheme, which it seems was not entirely acceptable to the Dissenters themselves. The debates in Parliament and Convocation had also shown pretty clearly that if the Government persisted in carrying their scheme a large number of the clergy and also laity of the Church would join the Nonjurors. Thus the protest of the latter was of great service to the Church at large. The men who had hailed the Prince of Orange as a deliverer from the Popish tyrant now began to wish that some arrangement could have been made with James. Events in Scotland, where Presbyterianism had been established in the Church's place, had also thoroughly alarmed Churchmen in England. They felt that there was a real danger that the policy of the King might end in the destruction of the old Church, and the erection of some other system in its place. This danger, however, passed away with the comprehension scheme. Tillotson, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, was not a vigorous man and was quite content to live quietly at Lambeth.

Convocation did not meet during the time when he occupied the throne of Canterbury. William himself was too busy with foreign politics and his schemes against Louis, and too wise with an unstable Government to risk a contest with the Church of England. The remainder of his reign, therefore, passed with few events of any importance in the history of the Church. While Tillotson was Archbishop the government of the Church was carried on by means of Royal Injunctions, which were issued from time to time through the Primate. Thus the Church's own life—as far as government was

concerned—was suspended. It was the beginning of that entire suppression which began in the days of George II., and which only partially came to an end in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Tenison, who succeeded Tillotson in the Primacy, seems to have been promoted more on account of his connexion with the Court than for any other reason. Stillingfleet was the man who was marked out for the office, both because of his great learning and capacity. He had taken a leading part in the Roman controversy in James's reign, was on good terms with Nonconformists, and would have been acceptable to the great body of Churchmen. Tenison however was appointed. He had been an excellent parish priest in London and a hard working bishop at Lincoln. He held much the same views on Church matters as his predecessor and was content to carry out the Royal Injunctions when the King was pleased to issue them. He attended Mary on her deathbed and preached her funeral sermon. Ken sent him a severe reprimand, because he had not moved her to repentance for her behaviour towards her father. Whatever were Tenison's shortcomings it does not seem that he lacked boldness to speak out when it was his duty to do so. He took a different view from Ken of the Queen's conduct, but he rebuked the King for his adulterous connexion with Elizabeth Villiers, and William in turn promised to amend his evil life.

The King also made some attempt to give effect to the voice of the Church during the last year of his life. He had appointed men to bishoprics who were plainly out of sympathy with the majority of Churchmen, and had then tried to force a change upon her which would have probably ended in a Disruption of the Church.

At the end of his life he attempted to find out men for the highest places in the Church who were really most suitable and fit for their office. He appointed a Board of Patronage to help him for this purpose. This consisted of six bishops, three of whom were definite Churchmen, the Northern Primate Sharp, Patrick, and Stillingfleet. Convocation, too, was summoned in the year before his death, which saw the beginning of that celebrated controversy which really belongs to the next reign, but which we cannot entirely omit.

Charles II. had issued many injunctions — as for example against Sunday Trading, Dissipation on the Lord's Day, and also had issued proclamations against vice and debauchery. But he and his courtiers gambled on the Lord's Day and led notoriously dissolute lives. It was of little use to issue injunctions and proclamations to the people in general when the mischief was largely due to the royal example. Such was in a lesser degree the case with King William III. Injunctions were issued to the bishops, who in their turn were to see that the clergy did their duty and also preach against the vices and evils of the day. Churchwardens, too, were bidden to present rich and poor alike who broke the seventh commandment. It was unfortunate that such injunctions were issued by a sovereign who was unfaithful to his wife. This method of Church government had now extended from matters which touched upon morals, to those which touched the foundations of the faith. A heated and bitter controversy arose on the subject of the Holy Trinity. The Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford had issued a pamphlet in which he endeavoured to make the mystery clearer by mathematical illustrations. The result of this attempt was a multitude of books and treatises. The Dean of St

Pauls', Sherlock, who was hated by the Jacobites because he had sworn allegiance to William, after some period of hesitation, took part in the controversy. This gave his enemies the opportunity of saying that a man who could serve more than one king might have more than one God to swear by. Thus men who cared little about the subject were glad to have an opportunity of attacking their political enemies through their religion. At last the royal power stepped in and stopped the unseemly controversy. Even preachers were commanded to confine their remarks on the subject of the Blessed Trinity to the doctrine of the Scriptures, as it was defined in the Creeds and Articles of Religion. It was no doubt well that the disputes should cease in the interest of religion ; but it would have been better for the Church herself to be heard on a matter which was so vital and all-important.

Such were the events which made Churchmen desire that the Church's Convocation should again meet. We must remember that these bodies had not yet lost their legislative powers. When we saw Convocation disappear at the time of the Long Parliament they had just passed canons and had voted subsidies for the King's needs. When the Restoration took place, the Church again took her place, but in a vastly different state of affairs. Macaulay truly observes, "England could never be again what she was before the Civil War. The history of England during the seventeenth century is the history of a transformation of a limited monarchy constituted after the fashion of the Middle Ages, into a limited monarchy suited to the more advanced stage of society in which the public charges can no longer be borne by the Estates of the Crown,

and in which the public defence can no longer be entrusted to the feudal militia." These changes in the State were partially reflected in the altered condition of the Church. Almost at once a great change was made in the position of Convocation. In 1663 Convocation voted 'four subsidies,' and it was the last occasion on which it exercised the right of taxing itself for the King's necessities. Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Clarendon made an agreement that the clergy should be taxed in the same way as other people, and that at the same time they should have the right to vote for Members of Parliament. The change was made in an irregular fashion, but it was a necessity owing to the changed condition of the country. But while Convocation still lasted, it was plainly right that it should be summoned. If it were unconstitutional for Charles I. or James II. to try to govern the country without a Parliament, it seemed to be equally a violation of the spirit of the constitution when the Church was governed without Convocation. The matter was a great grievance in the eyes of many Churchmen. Sir Bartholomew Shower—a partisan of James—published his celebrated letter 'to a Convocation man' in 1697. The Houses of Convocation ought to meet (he said) to deal with unbelief and disbelief, and he hinted that they had come into England with the Dutch King. He allowed that Convocation could only meet with the King's writ; but the King ought to issue that writ. Convocation bears the same relation to the Church that Parliament does to the State. Canons which have received royal assent need no other confirmation, provided that they are not contrary to the King's prerogative and the laws of the country. His words were a summons to the Church to assert her

rights. Unfortunately Churchmen were not all of one mind on the subject. Dr Wake issued a book in which he tried to prove that the King need not summon Convocation. He wrote on behalf of those who were willing to be governed by Royal Injunctions. Then Francis Atterbury joined in the fray, drawing a distinction between Convocation as representing the clergy as an Estate of the Realm and Convocation as a Sacred Synod of the Church. The discussion soon opened up the whole subject of the doctrinal position of the Church, her inherent rights, the history of her Synods, and the relations of the Church to the crown.

It was during the last year of his life that the King summoned Convocation. No business of any value was transacted, but it was obvious that great differences still existed between the Upper and Lower Houses. The debates in Parliament and Convocation, however, were cut short by the death of the King on the 8th of March 1702.

The majority of Churchmen seem to have been slow to observe that the times had greatly changed. They believed that the Church's work could be efficiently carried out by ordinary methods. As a matter of fact, the parochial clergy had never quite satisfied the religious needs of the people. In the Middle Ages that work had been supplemented by the religious orders. When they were suppressed by Henry VIII. and Cromwell the Church was unable to put anything in their place.

The growth of Nonconformity, in spite of the vigorous efforts by the Church and State to suppress it, might have suggested to the Church's leaders that the work of the religious order was necessary, and was

being done by men who were hostile to the Catholic Church. When again the Church came back at the Restoration, she took possession of her sees, deaneries, canonries, and benefices. The episcopal visitations were continued, the diocesan officers were appointed, and its courts were again erected. But her discipline was plainly very imperfect; a large part of the people were untouched, and vice and immorality abounded. In many parts of the country, too, the people were grossly ignorant. We have already seen how pious men such as Baxter did what they could during the times of the Commonwealth by voluntary effort. Churchmen now tried to cope with the prevailing vice and ignorance by the same methods. The result of their efforts was the rise of those 'religious societies' which form a distinguishing feature of the close of our period. They were not to lead people away from their Mother—the Church, but were to make people who were baptized realize their position and responsibilities.

It was during the reign of Charles II. that the movement began. Young men in London, who had been impressed with the preaching of Dr Horneck at the Savoy, and other clergy who were doing their best to convert souls, determined to band themselves together. Already Atheists, as well as Socinians and Deists, had their clubs, where they could propagate their errors. These men determined to use the same methods to spread the truth and encourage holy living. Only full members of the Church were allowed to join them, as they aimed at quality and not quantity. Rules were drawn up for their spiritual life and moral conduct. They held meetings for prayer and spiritual guidance. Their first aim, however, was to promote careful and regular attendance at Divine worship. These societies

happened to come into existence at the same time as Englishmen were being driven into a panic by the supposed Popish Plot. The members of the societies were naturally looked upon as ‘Papists.’ But, as a matter of fact, they did good work for the Church during the reign of James by keeping men steady in their allegiance to the Church of England.

If the Roman service was said daily in the King’s Palace, and was attended by numbers of people, why could not the members of the English Church show at any rate an equal amount of devotion and earnestness of purpose? They aimed also at the restoration of family worship. They promoted works of charity, encouraged their members to visit and give alms to the sick and prisoners. They stirred up the spirit for missionary work, which was beginning to show itself at the time through the courage and efforts of a few devoted men. It was also through their efforts that charity schools—which soon numbered a hundred—sprang up in the City of London and in the country.

These societies did their work, and then, for various causes, came to an end. During William’s reign they were largely connected with the societies for the reformation of morals. We have already noticed that King’s proclamation against vice. There were also laws in existence which could punish men for desecrating the Lord’s Day and for vicious living. But the difficulty was to find persons who would put the laws into operation.

William’s proclamation would probably have had the effect of similar proclamations had not societies been formed to carry it out, and to give effect to the law. Tillotson and Tenison, with Compton of London,

and devoted laymen, such as Robert Nelson, supported and encouraged the work. Twenty thousand persons were convicted in two years for cursing and profaning the Lord's Day, and three thousand lewd and disorderly persons were punished in London and Westminster alone. But the work of these societies became unpopular, as spies and informers had to be employed. Hence for this and other causes they came to an end.

It was not, however, before that two permanent societies had come into existence, which have never ceased to work for the extension of the Church and for the promotion of its principles.

In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded largely owing to the efforts of Dr Bray—a name ever to be revered by Church people. He had found in his visits to America that the clergy were often deficient in knowledge and that they had no books. He found much the same state of things among many of the clergy at home.

To remedy this, he founded his libraries for the clergy. The S.P.C.K. was to carry out the same thing for the poorer part of the Church. It was largely owing to this Society that the schools which we have already mentioned came into existence. Accounts of these schools were written in various languages on the Continent, and they were taken as models of good education for the poor, so that similar institutions were founded in Switzerland and Germany. Good books, as well as Bibles and Prayer Books, were to be put into the hands of the poor. The spiritual interests of the men in the Army and Navy were likewise to be remembered.

Dr Bray's visit to Maryland had also stirred up his

zeal for missionary work. On his return to England in 1700 he proposed to form a separate society "to propagate the gospel throughout the foreign possessions of the British Empire." It is true that Convocation had discussed the matter, but the real founders of the Society which bears the title which Dr Bray gave to it were himself, Tenison, and Compton.

June 27th, 1701, is a memorable date in the history of the Church of England. On that day the first meeting of the S.P.G. was held at Lambeth Palace under the presidency of Tenison. No event in our period is more important than this. For it was the first attempt on the part of the Church to face the question which was pressing itself upon her—What was she to do, not only in this island, but in the greater Britain,—her Colonies and dependencies,—which was to grow up into the Empire of to-day?

There had already been an ordinance of the Long Parliament which had established a similar corporation with a similar title. Charles II. had granted a charter to a Society of the same kind, but there had been little result. The Church had obviously not yet arisen to the demands which were being made upon her. For we must consider that it was mainly during this period that England began to acquire those possessions which have since grown into an empire. It was only in the last year of the sixteenth century that the East India Company received its Charter, while in James I.'s reign the Colonies of Virginia and New England also received the same privileges.

Maryland and the Carolinas were settled under Lords Baltimore and Berkeley in the reign of his son. In Charles II.'s reign New Amsterdam was taken from the Dutch and called New York, and the Hudson's

Bay territory named Rupertsland after the Prince of that name. Meantime the West Indian Islands had been added to the dominion of England. Pennsylvania was purchased by Penn from his friend the Duke of York and became chiefly a colony for Quakers. By the marriage of Charles II., Bombay had become an English possession, and in the latter part of William's reign the East India Company moved its factory from the Hoogley to Calcutta.

What would the Church of England do? Would she regard these new possessions as the opening of a door which had been for a long time shut against her and preach the gospel to the heathen?

It would be untrue to say that no attempt had yet been made to do this. The father of Nicholas Ferrar, and other wealthy Churchmen, had endeavoured to plant the Church among the Indians of North America. They had subscribed large sums of money to build a college where the natives might be trained in the faith of Christ.

The Charter of the Colony of Virginia recognised the duty "of propagating the Christian religion" to such as were yet living in darkness. It was the recognition of this responsibility which caused Charles I., by an Order in Council, to place all congregations abroad under the care of the Bishop of London. A plan for a bishopric in Virginia was in existence when the Church was overwhelmed by the events of the Civil War. The scheme was revived at the Restoration, but when Clarendon fell, this, with all other plans for the extension of the Church, came to nothing. But the fire was still burning in the hearts of individuals. Robert Boyle, a director of the East India Company, did his best to induce its members to work for the

conversion of India. He himself laboured at Scripture translations and spent much money in laying the foundations for missionary enterprise. Dean Prideaux had in his mind a vision of the conversion of Hindustan. He was so far successful in his efforts that he persuaded the Primate and other bishops to use their influence at Court, and in the new Charter granted to the company in 1698, it was stated that clergy were to be appointed at every factory, and schools were to be established.

The clergy were to learn the language of the company's servants and teach them the religion of Christ. But the actual result of this order was very small, and the work was very limited.

It was, of course, an impossibility for the Bishop of London to superintend the work of the clergy in the Colonies and all other places outside England. Indeed, the reports which were received from time to time after the Restoration tell us not so much about work among the heathen as the lamentable state of the ministerial work which was supposed to be going on among English people. Men who were not in Holy Orders were pretending to administer the sacraments, and those who were ordained were very often anything but a credit to the priesthood. It was on account of this unsatisfactory state of things that the Bishop of London sent Dr Bray to America as his Commissary. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was, as we have seen, the outcome of that visit. Henceforth the efforts of individuals would be directed by this Society, which had the Church at home to support it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury as its President. Unfortunately, the work was very slow, and no bishop was sent forth for some years. But the foundation of

the missionary work of the Church was laid more firmly and securely. It was laid in the spirit of the age. It required (so its supporters thought) a Royal Charter—as if it were a trading company. It also breathed the spirit of the English Church under James II. and William III., when the sufferings of foreign refugees from France or the mountains of Savoy were touching the hearts of English Church people. The Society still bears a trace of the feeling of this period in the sum of money which was then given to the persecuted Waldensians, and which is still paid to their pastors. The foundation of the S.P.G. warns us that we are entering upon a period which is looking forward to a greater future. The questions which had been agitating the Church had been settled for the time in the Reformation Settlement of 1662 and the Toleration Act of the Revolution period. Henceforth there were the greater and wider problems for the English Church to grapple with, both at home and beyond the seas.

We may conclude with a glance at the relation of the English Church to the other branches of the Church. Western Christendom had just seen the effects of the revolt from Rome in the sixteenth century. During our period all those who were opposed to the claims of the Roman bishops were obliged to stand together. Hence we find that a man whom we should call now a High Churchman (such as Bishop Cosin) could declare that he would prefer the communion of the 'Reformed' to that of the Papal Church. But there were also signs that some at any rate on both sides were growing weary of strife and were willing to make the least of the differences which separated them. The King's Declaration, which had been prefixed to the XXXIX.

Articles, and the exposition of these same Articles by the English Franciscan named Davenport, were really on the same lines. They both would say that if men took these Articles of the Church of England in their literal and grammatical sense they are on the Catholic side and not the Calvinist. They do not anywhere condemn the official statements of the Roman Church, but the common perversions of Catholic doctrine to be found in that Church. So it was that when the Church of France began to grow cool towards the Roman See in the reign of Louis XIV. there was a kindlier feeling towards the English Church among Gallican divines. A few years after the close of our period a project of union was discussed as the Gallican Church seemed to be about to break with the Roman Curia, and then the view of the English Articles which was taken by French theologians of the Sorbonne was very similar to that of Christopher Davenport.

The Orthodox Churches of the East take up a position very like that of the Church of England. They appeal to the teaching of antiquity—the Church of the Fathers and Councils. They condemn all later additions of the Western Church and resist stoutly all the claims of the Roman bishop. It was natural that at some time or other the Church of England and the Churches of the East should be drawn together.

It was in our period that Englishmen began to learn more of the life of the East through their trading companies. The Levant Company had its chaplains, who saw for themselves that the actual condition of the Eastern Churches was deplorable. But they began to learn at the same time what was the exact teaching and position of those Churches. In the days of Charles I. we find a Greek priest holding a post at

Christ Church ; but he left Oxford owing to the war and became a bishop after his return home. The Patriarch of Constantinople had already sent to the English King a most valuable present—the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament—a treasure which is now preserved in the British Museum. But the pioneer of a movement towards friendliness and recognition of one another was Dr Isaac Basire, whom Evelyn calls the French Apostle, and who had been planting the English Church in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He was a Frenchman who had become convinced of the sound position of the Church of England, “which was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty the most perfect under heaven.” He visited the prelates of the Eastern Church and showed Evelyn “the syngraphs, and original subscriptions of divers Eastern Patriarchs and Asian Churches to our confession.” Such men at any rate began to break down barriers and dispelled the ignorance which had existed on both sides. It was, however, the beginning of efforts on the part of individual Churchmen, who kept alive the fact that the Founder of the Catholic Church had prayed that His followers might be one, and who testified by their deeds that even in the days of the sharpest struggle and most bitter controversy the desire of the Head of the Church was not entirely forgotten.

## APPENDIX

### NOTE I

*Mr Gladstone on Archbishop Laud*

(*cf.* Introduction)

“THE name of Laud has now for two centuries and a half been largely visited with disapproval, sometimes with contempt. So great a writer as Lord Macaulay finds in Strafford a character of ‘great abilities, eloquence, and courage,’ but in Laud only a man of ‘narrow understanding,’ of a ‘nature rash and irritable,’ and of small ‘commerce with the world.’ Yet these two men were the Pylades and Orestes of civil life ; there seems to have been established a thorough community of soul between them ; and it might be hard to show any single point of action or opinion on which they differed. For the political sentiments and judicial acts of either I have not a word to say except that they were expiated by both upon the scaffold, and that they in no way enter into the ground of the present estimate. Of Laud as a Churchman it ought to have been remembered, at least in extenuation, that he was the first Primate of all England for many generations who proved himself by his acts to be a tolerant theologian. He was the patron not only of the saintly and heroic Bedell, but on the one hand of Chillingworth and Hales ; on the other of Ussher, Hall, and Davenant : groups of names sharply severed in opinion, but unitedly known in the history of ability and learning. It is directly to the present purpose to compare the Calvinistic Oxford, to which Laud came as a youth, with the Anglican Oxford which he quitted to pass out into the government of affairs.

“The change in this place almost recalls what was said of Augustus, that he found Rome brick and left it marble ; or, if the inverted form be preferred, Laud found Oxford marble and left it brick : for it is the amount of the transformation, and not its quality, that I seek to indicate. This change was not wrought by

a man having as yet the Star Chamber and High Commission at his back, but seemingly by his force of character and will. He went out into the world. He obtained hold of the helm. He gave to the Anglican polity and worship what was in the main the impress of his own mind. He then sank to the ground in that conflict of the times, which he had much helped to exasperate. But his scheme of Church polity, for his it largely was, grew up afresh out of his tomb, and took effect in law at the Restoration. And now, with the mitigations which religious liberty has required, it still subsists in all its essential features, not as personal or party opinion, but as embodied alike in statute and in usage, with no apparent likelihood of disappearance or decay. Dealing still exclusively with the quantitative aspect of the case, and wholly apart from merits or demerits, I conceive that he, with Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, forms the triad of persons, who have had the largest share in giving to the momentous changes of the sixteenth century so much of their form as is strictly and specifically British. Such is an outline of the facts which have led me to appreciate so highly the brain-force of Laud."—Pp. 37-39 of the Romanes Lecture, 1892. An Academic Sketch by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, October 24, 1892.

## NOTE II

*On the Consecration of Bishops during this period*

(*cf.* pp. 32, 116)

On December 14, 1617, at Lambeth, Nicolas Felton was consecrated to the See of Bristol, George Montaigne to that of Lincoln. The names of the consecrators are given as follows:—George (*i.e.* the Archbishop of Canterbury), M. A. Spalato, John London, Launc. Ely, John Rochester, John Lichfield.

There were also frequent instances of bishops of another succession, *e.g.* the Irish Church, joining in English consecrations.

The Archbishop of Armagh took part in consecration of Morton, Bishop of Chester, July 7, 1616.

The Bishop of Derry took part in consecration of Field, Bishop of Llandaff, October 10, 1619.

William Murray was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin

and two Irish bishops in St Patrick's, Dublin, December 18, 1622, and became Bishop of Llandaff, 1627. He took part in ten consecrations of English bishops.

In 1663 William Fuller was consecrated to Limerick, and was translated to Lincoln in 1667, and took part in two consecrations as Bishop of Limerick and five as Bishop of Lincoln.

On October 1, 1671, the Bishop of Clogher took part in the consecration of Bridgman, Bishop of Chester.

On June 19, 1684, the Bishop of Derry took part in the consecration of Spratt, Bishop of Rochester.

### THE CONSECRATIONS IN 1660.

Oct. 28, 1660, Henry VII. Chapel.	Consecrators—Brian, Winchester.	Accepted York.	Matt., Ely.	John, Rochester.	Hen., Chichester.
	Gilbert Sheldon, London.	Henchman, Sarum.	Geo. Morley,	Rob. Sanderson, Worcester.	Geo. Griffith, Lincoln.
					S. Asaph.
Dec. 2, 1660, Henry VII. Chapel.	Consecrators—Acc. York.	Gilb., London.	John, Rochester.	Humph., Sarum.	[Winchester, Lincoln.]
	W. Lucy, S. Davids.	Hugh Lloyd, Llandaff.	Jn. Gauden, Exeter.	Rich. Sterne, Carlisle.	John Coxon, Durham.
					Brian Walton, Chester.
					Benj. Lane, Peterborough.

(Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum.*)

### NOTE III

#### *A Scheme for Reunion at the Time of the Restoration*

(cf. p. 174)

Ranke gives us the contents of a paper addressed to the Roman See in the name of Charles II., dated Feb. 1663, and preserved in the Archives at Paris. The English King was said to be ready to accept the confession of faith of Pius IV., the decrees of Trent and the decisions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. on Jansenism.

But the hierarchy in England was to be in a position of comparative independence. The Archbishop of Canterbury was to be

the Patriarch of the three kingdoms, and was to rule the Church a few rights having been reserved for the Apostolic See.

The existing archbishops and bishops were to remain in their sees, but were to be reconsecrated by three apostolic delegates. A papal legate was to reside in England, but he was to be a native, and merely to exercise the reserved rights of the Pope. The government of the Church was to be carried on also by provincial synods and national councils. The rights of the Crown to the nomination of bishops were to be preserved, and any Church property which had been bought was to remain in the hands of the owner. Bishops and clergy having been reordained were to be allowed to keep their wives. This, however, was to be a temporary arrangement, as celibacy was to be enforced in the future.

The Communion was to be given in both kinds to those who wished it, the Mass was to be celebrated in Latin, but English hymns might be sung. A summary of doctrine based on Scripture was to be published; while disputed questions—such as the infallibility of the Pope, his superiority over councils, his right to depose kings—were not to be discussed in writing or in sermons. The religious orders were to be revived. It is not likely (says Ranke) that the authorities of the Roman or English Churches would accept such a scheme, but it shows us what was in the minds of those who desired to bring back England to reunion with Rome. “It aimed at not a complete restoration of the Papal authority, but at removing the schism, while it retained as far as possible the independence of the English Church.”—(Ranke’s ‘History of England during Seventeenth Century,’ bk. xi. ch. vii.)

#### NOTE IV

*Bramhall and Reordination of Presbyterians*

(cf. p. 205)

The writers of Bramhall’s life state “that the matter of reordination was a difficulty in the last (*i.e.* seventeenth) century, with many nonconformist divines, who were otherwise disposed to have come over to the Church of England; that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1689 proposed to admit some latitude in the affair; and that Abp. Bramhall had furnished them with a precedent for so doing, by the manner in which he had received

some Scotch Presbyters into the Church." The extent of the latitude here hinted will be best seen by stating the instance given of it, *viz.*, that "in the orders" (*i.e.* letters of orders) "which he gave to Mr Edward Parkinson, the following words were inserted:—'non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio Judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et prouidentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur. In cuius rei testimonium,' etc."

"It is certainly 'not a little remarkable' that a concession so carefully guarded should have been elsewhere made the foundation of a very serious and groundless misrepresentation. It has been asserted, and upon the strength of the instance above given, that "with regard to any Ministers who had received Presbyterian orders during the confusion of the Great Rebellion, the method employed by Abp. Bramhall was not to cause them 'to undergo a new ordination, but to admit them into the Ministry of the Church by a conditional ordination, as we do in the Baptism of those of whom it is uncertain whether they are baptized or not.' But this assertion is not supported by the statement of Bp. Vesey" upon the subject "and the document alleged by him": on the contrary, it is directly opposed to both. For they give us to understand that the Archbishop did 'ordain' the persons in question 'as the law of the Church requireth'; therefore *not conditionally*, for the law of this Church recognises no conditional ordination: but that subsequently he introduced into his letters of orders an explanatory remark."—(Bramhall's works in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, vol. i. p. xxxvii.)

## STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM

## LIST OF SOVEREIGNS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK

SOVEREIGNS.		ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.		ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.	
	Date of Accession.		Date of Accession.		Date of Accession.
1603	James I.	.	1583 1604 1610	John Whitgift. Richard Bancroft. George Abbot.	Matthew Hutton. Tobias Matthew.
1625	Charles I.	.	1633 1645	William Laud. (Vacancy.)	George Montaigne. Samuel Harsnett. Richard Neile. John Williams. (Vacancy.)
1649	<i>Interregnum</i>	.	.	William Juxon. Gilbert Sheldon. William Sanctio.	Accepted Frewen. Richard Sterne. John Dolben.
1660	Charles II.	.	1660 1663 1677	.	1660 1664 1683
1685	James II.	.	.	.	Thomas Lamplugh.
1689	William III. and Mary II.	.	1691	John Tillotson.	John Sharp.
1694	William III. (alone)	.	1695	Thomas Tenison.	

# INDEX

## A

- ABBOT, Abp. of Canterbury, 20-44,  
50, 52, 66  
— Master of Balliol, 20  
Acton, Lord, 64  
Advertisements, the, 15  
Alington, Sir G., 66  
Andrewes, Bp., 20, 25, 26, 28-30, 35,  
55, 121, 148-50, 173, 207  
Anne, Princess, 140, 159, 200  
Antholin's, St, Soc. of, 56, 76  
Argyle, Earl of, 157  
Arminius, 34  
Articles, XXXIX., 13, 49, 52, 64, 221  
— Five, 44  
Arundel, Lord, 160  
Assembly, General, 42, 89  
— Aberdeen, 43  
— Perth, 44  
Atterbury, Bp. of Rochester, 153,  
213  
Augustine, St, 2, 23, 35  
— of Canterbury, 1, 75

## B

- BABINGTON, Churchill, 151-2  
Bacon, Francis, 7  
Baillie, Robert, 76, 79, 84  
Baltimore, Lord, 217  
Bancroft, Bp. of London, 9 ; Abp. of  
Canterbury, 12-20, 53  
Barlow, Bp. of Lincoln, 177  
Baronius, 48  
Barrow, Bp. of St Asaph, 147  
Basle, Council of, 150, 207  
Basire, Dr, 222  
Bastwick, 67, 75  
Baxter, Richard, 54, 106, 107, 116,  
121, 125, 126, 135, 177, 178, 199  
Belasyse, Lord, 160  
Bellarmine, Card., 25, 75  
Benedictines, 165  
Berkeley, Lord, 217  
Berrington, 61

- Beveridge, 147, 153  
Bible, translation of, 9, 10, 40-42  
Bill, Comprehension, 201, 202, 205  
— Root and Branch, 76, 80  
Bingham, 153  
Bombay, 218  
Bossuet, Bp. of Meaux, 173, 174, 195  
207  
Boyle, Robert, 218  
Bramhall, Abp. of Armagh, 39, 104,  
147-50, 207, 226-7  
Bray, Dr, 216, 217, 219  
Buckeridge, Bp. of Ely, 35  
Buckingham, Duke of, 31, 37, 49  
Bull, Bp. of St David's, 99, 104, 143,  
147  
Bunyan, John, 178  
Burges, Dr, 80  
Burnet, Bp. of Salisbury, 153, 174,  
190, 197, 200, 201, 206  
Burton, 67, 75

## C

- CABAL, The, 136  
Calvin, John, 1-3, 11, 12, 23, 34, 87, 96  
Calcutta, 218  
Cambridge, University of, 7, 24, 103,  
167-8, 196  
Canon of 1571, 2  
Canons of 1604, 13-16  
— of 1640, 72, 73  
Canterbury, 57, 97  
Carmelites, 165  
Carolinas, 217  
Cartwright, Bp. of Chester, 177  
Cathedrals—  
Bath, 167  
Chester, 157  
Durham, 142  
Ely, 146  
Gloucester, 36  
Lichfield, 129, 130  
Salisbury, 129  
Wells, 157  
Winchester, 129

Chalderton, Mr., 9  
 Charles I., 31, 42, 45-82, 105, 123,  
 132, 149, 164, 212, 221  
 — II., 27, 112-153, 160, 163, 174,  
 198, 200, 210, 217, 218  
 Chillingworth, 68, 223  
 Church, Dean, 29  
 Clarendon, Lord, 66, 117, 136, 212,  
 218  
 Claude, M., 162  
 Coke, Chief Justice, 17, 28  
 Collier, Jeremy, 133, 197  
 Comber, Dean, 142, 153  
 Compton, Bp. of London, 158, 164,  
 188, 192, 203, 215, 217  
 Constance, Council of, 150, 207  
 Constantinople, Patriarch of, 222  
 Cosin, Bp. of Durham, 50, 51, 58,  
 103, 104, 116, 122, 220  
 Court of High Commission, 66, 67,  
 80, 163, 164  
 — Star Chamber, 66, 67, 80  
 Cranmer, Abp., 39  
 Crewe, Lord, Bp. of Durham, 177  
 Croft, Bp. of Hereford, 146, 181,  
 201  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 85, 91-96, 101, 102,  
 105-7, 135  
 — Thomas, 213

## D

DANGERFIELD, 139  
 Davenant, Bp. of Salisbury, 56  
 Davenport, Christopher, 64, 221  
 Dering, Sir E., 76, 80, 95  
 'Directory,' The, 86, 88, 96, 100,  
 105  
 Dodwell, Henry, 196  
 Dort, Synod of, 21, 34, 35, 49, 67  
 Dover, Lord, 160  
 Dunbar, Earl of, 20  
 Duppa, Bp. of Salisbury, 98  
 Durham, 57, 58

## E

EACHARD'S Book on the Clergy,  
 152  
 Earle, Bp. of Salisbury, 135  
 East India Co., 217, 218  
 Edward VI., 2, 13, 78, 79, 118, 120  
 Eikon Basilike, the, 94, 108-10, 131  
 Eikonoklastes, the, 110-12, 132  
 Eliot, Sir J., 47

Elizabeth, Queen, 2-4, 11, 12, 21, 26,  
 27, 45, 52, 53, 58, 64, 66, 68, 78,  
 118, 119, 122, 140, 164, 224  
 Engagement, the, 101  
 Evelyn, John, 101, 103, 139, 146, 156,  
 161, 178, 187, 207, 222  
 Exeter Chapel, London, 102

## F

FALKLAND, Lord, 77, 80  
 Farmer, Antony, 169  
 Ferrar, Nicholas, 218  
 Fiennes, Nathaniel, 77  
 Filmer, Sir R., 171  
 Finch, Heneage, Sol.-General, 154,  
 159  
 Fisher, the Jesuit, 37  
 Frampton, Bp. of Gloucester, 194,  
 195  
 Francis, Alban, 168  
 Franciscans, 165  
 Frankfort, 2  
 Frederic, Elector Palatine, 27  
 Frewen, Abp. of York, 98

## G

GALLOWAY, Bp. of, 103  
 Gardiner, Prof. S. R., 66  
 Gauden, Bp. of Exeter, 109, 112  
 George II., 209  
 Giffard, Bp. (R.C.), President of  
 Magdalen, Oxford, 170  
 Giles', St., Edinburgh, 70  
 Gladstone, W. E., 223-224  
 Gloucester, 36, 57  
 Godfrey, Sir E. B., 139  
 Godolphin, Sir W., 139  
 Gondomar, 31  
 Goodman, Bp. of Gloucester, 65, 103  
 Grantham, 59  
 Gregory's, St., London, 59  
 Grenville, Dean, 142, 196  
 Grey, Lady Jane, 140  
 Gunning, Bp. of Ely, 102, 139  
 Gunpowder Plot, 23

## H

HACKET, Bp. of Lichfield, 104, 130  
 Hales, Dean, 68, 223  
 — Sir E., 159, 160  
 Hall, Bp. (Exeter), 98, (Oxford) 185

Hammond, Dr, 104, 148  
 Hampden, John, 80  
 Hampton Court Conference, 8-13, 18,  
 40, 118  
 Henderson, 76  
 Henrietta Maria, Queen, 46, 94  
 Henry VII., 66, 114  
 — VIII., 2, 13, 26, 164, 213, 224  
 Herbert, Chief Justice, 160  
 — George, 15, 142  
 Heylin, Peter, 16, 59  
 Hickes, Dean, 195, 197  
 Hobbes' 'Leviathan,' 171, 172  
 Holy Table, position of the, 58, 59,  
 142  
 Hoogley, 218  
 Hooker, Richard, 26, 35, 55  
 Horneck, Dr, 214  
 Hough, Pres. of Magdalen Coll., 169  
 Howe, John, 106, 178  
 Huddleston, 141, 167  
 Hyde, Sir E., 98

## I

INDULGENCE, Declaration of, First,  
 136, 137  
 — Second, 177 *sq.*  
 'Instrument,' The, 92  
 Ipswich, 97

## J

JAMES I., 1-44, 45, 48, 58, 95, 114,  
 118, 122, 145, 149, 207, 217  
 — II., 130, 138, 140, 141, 153, 154-  
 188, 191, 195, 198 200, 208, 212,  
 215  
 Jane, Dr, Prolocutor of Convocation,  
 206  
 Jeffreys, Ld. Chancellor, 168, 174, 184  
 Jesuits, 24, 53, 64, 157, 160, 163, 165  
 John, King, 156  
 Juxon, Bp. of London, 98; Abp. of  
 C., 116

## K

KEN, Bp. of Bath and Wells, 132,  
 133, 145, 147, 155, 158, 162, 163,  
 167, 173, 176, 190, 194, 195, 197,  
 209  
 Kentish Petition, 83  
 Kettlewell, 153, 197

Kidderminster, 107  
 King, Bp. of Chichester, 98  
 King's Evil, 166, 167  
 Knewstubbs, Mr, 9  
 Knox, John, 43, 89

## L

LAKE, Bp. of Chichester, 194  
 Lambeth Articles, The, 9, 52  
 Laud, Bp. of St David's, London,  
 and Abp. of C., 16, 30, 35-37, 45-  
 49, 51-68, 72-74, 78, 86-88, 98, 104,  
 116, 142, 148, 149, 223-4  
 Leander, Dom, 65  
 Legate, Bartholomew, 27, 28  
 Leighton, 67, 68, 75  
 Levant Company, 221  
 Lichfield, 28  
 Lilburne, 75  
 Lincoln, 57  
 Lloyd, Bp. of Norwich, 194, 195  
 Louis XIV., 136, 137, 160-162, 189,  
 208, 221  
 Luckock, Dean, 151  
 Luther, 2, 23  
 Lyme Regis, 157

## M

MACAULAY, Lord, 133, 151-153, 204,  
 207, 211, 223  
 Mackenzie, Sir G., 171, 172  
 Magdalen Coll., Oxford, 168-170,  
 185-6  
 Mainwaring, Dr, 50, 52; Bp. of St  
 David's, 98  
 Mainz, Council of, 26  
 Marston Moor, Battle of, 85  
 Mary I., Queen, 2, 4, 27, 28, 140  
 — II., Queen, 140, 159, and chap.  
 ix. *passim*.  
 Maryland, 216, 217  
 Massey, Dean, 168  
 Matthew, Abp. of York, 32  
 Midgley, Robert, 144  
 Millenary Petition, 4  
 Milletierre, M. de la, 148  
 Milton, 110, 132  
 Monk, General, 113  
 Monmouth, Duke of, 140, 157, 158  
 Montague, Bp. of Chichester, 48, 49,  
 52, 64, 65  
 Morley, Bp., 103, 116  
 — Lord, 89

## N

- NANTES, Edict of, 161  
 Naseby, Battle of, 85  
 Nelson, Robert, 99, 196, 216  
 Newman, Card., 64  
 New York, 216  
 Norfolk, Duke of, 156  
 Nonjurors, The, 194-196  
 Nottingham, Earl of, 198, 205

## O

- OATES, 139  
 Ormonde, Duke of, 185  
 Owen, Mr, 102  
 Oxford University, 7, 36, 103, 167-  
 172, 185, 196, 222

## P

- PANZANI, the Oratorian, 64  
 Paris, chapel in, 103, 116  
 — Abp. of, 195  
 Parker, Abp. of C., 2  
 — Bp. of Oxford, 170  
 Parliament, Acts of—  
     Conventicle No. 1, 134  
     — No. 2, 136  
     Corporation, 135  
     Five Mile, 134  
     Toleration, 198, 199  
     Uniformity, 126, 134-136  
 Pascal, 207  
 Patrick, Bp. of Ely, 175, 203, 210  
 Paul's, St, 57, 59, 129, 130-1  
 Pearson, Bp. of Chester, 104, 147  
 Penn, William, 178, 218  
 Pennsylvania, 218  
 'Petition and Advice,' The, 92  
 Petre, Fr., 161, 174  
 Piers, Bp. of Bath and Wells, 97  
 Pitt, William, 52  
 Pole, Card., 2, 28  
 Popes—  
     Alexander VII., 225  
     Clement VIII., 3  
     Gregory XV., 32  
     Innocent X., 225  
     — XI., 160  
     Paul V., 32  
     Pius IV., 225  
 Popish Plot, 139, 140  
 Potter, Bp. of Carlisle, 52  
 Powis, Lord, 160, 161

- Powis, Sir T., Sol.-General, 159  
 Prideaux, Bp. of Worcester, 81, 97  
 Prynne, William, 67, 75, 87  
 Pym, 72, 74

## R

- REMONSTRANCE, Grand, 81  
 Reynolds, Dr, 9  
 — Bp. of Norwich, 116  
 Richardson, Chief Justice, 61  
 Richelieu, Card., 161  
 Rupert Island, 218

## S

- SANCROFT, Abp. of C., 140-142,  
 157, 175-186, 191-195, 198, 201  
 Sanderson, Bp. of Lincoln, 116, 148  
 Savoy Conference, 118-121  
 Scotland, Church in, 42-44, 69-70  
 Sharp, Dr, 164; Abp. of York, 210  
 Sheldon, Bp. of London and Abp. of  
     C., 116, 132, 133, 212  
 Sherlock, Dr, Dean of St Paul's,  
     164, 175, 211  
 Shower, Sir B., 212  
 Shrewsbury, Earl of, 200  
 Sibthorpe, Dr, 50  
 Skinner, Bp. of Oxford, 98, 99, 104  
 Smart, Peter, Preb. of Durham, 58  
 Solemn League and Covenant, 85,  
     99, 101  
 Sorbonne, The, 221  
 South, Dr, 147  
 S.P.C.K., 216  
 S.P.G., 217, 219, 220  
 Spalatro, Abp. of De Dominicis, 32, 33  
 Sparks, Dr, 9  
 Spottiswood, Abp. of St Andrews, 43  
 Sports, Sunday, 34, 61  
 Spratt, Bp. of Rochester, 184  
 Stapleton, 64  
 Stillingfleet, Bp. of Worcester, 147,  
     175, 200, 210  
 Strafford, Earl of, 72, 74, 109  
 Swift, Dean, 152

## T

- TAYLOR on Episcopacy, 127, 128  
 Tenison, R., of S. Martin's-in-the-  
     Fields, and Abp. of Canterbury, 153,  
     176, 190, 209, 215, 217

Test Act, 123, 138, 158, 161, 162  
 Thorndike, Herbert, 148  
 Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, St  
     Paul's, and Abp. of Canterbury,  
     148, 175, 200, 201, 206, 208, 209, 215  
 Trent, Council of, 29  
 Triers, the, 101  
 Turner, Bp. of Ely, 158, 194

## U

USSHER, Abp. of Armagh, 114  
 Uxbridge, 93

## V

VILLIERS, Elizabeth, 209  
 Virginia, 217, 218  
 Voluntary Associations, 107, 108  
     — Societies, 214, 215  
 Vorstius, 28

## W

WAGSTAFFE, 195  
 Wake, Abp. of Canterbury, 176, 213

Walker, Master of Univ. Coll., Oxford, 168  
 Warner, Bp. of Rochester, 98  
 Watson, Bp. of St David's, 178  
 Wentworth, Lady, 158  
 Westminster Abbey, 31, 82  
     — Confession, 88, 89  
     — St Margaret's, 31, 74, 85,  
     95  
 White, Bp. of Peterborough, 194  
 Whitgift, Abp. of Canterbury, 4, 7,  
     9, 10  
 Wightman, Edward, 28  
 Wild, Dr, 102  
 Wilkins, Bp. of Chester, 201  
 William III., 1, 144, 166, 186, 188,  
     189-222  
 Williams, Bp. of Lincoln, 6, 45, 51,  
     59, 71, 78; Abp. of York, 81, 82,  
     97  
 Windebank, 64  
 Winniffe, Bp. of Lincoln, 98  
 Wood, Bp. of Lichfield, 178  
 Wren, Bp. of Ely, 86, 97, 122

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Blaxland, Bruce.

The struggle with Puritanism / by  
Bruce Blaxland. -- London : Methuen  
1910.

xii, 233 p. ; 20 cm. -- (Handbook  
English Church history ; 5)  
Includes index.

1. Church of England--History--17th  
century. 2. Puritans--Great Britain  
I. Title

A050269

